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OF THE

HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN ART.

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SKETCHES

OF THE

HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN ART

BY LORD LINDSAY

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOL. I.

SECOND EDITION

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET
1885

Printed by R. & R. Clark, *Edinburgh.*

NOTICE TO SECOND EDITION.

In acceding to a very generally expressed desire that I should allow my husband's work on Christian Art to be reprinted, I feel it my duty to explain why no additions or corrections have been made in the New Edition, for it might easily be supposed that Lord Crawford had made some preparation for the revisal and continuance of a work which he fully intended some day (had time been granted him) to complete. From the announcement of this intention in the Advertisement prefixed to this volume, it might be expected that the result of such preparation should now be made public; but many occupations of a graver character absorbed my husband's time and attention, and though occasionally he returned to the old and well-loved subject, he never had either leisure or opportunity to throw himself into it with the zest of early days; his thoughts being continually drawn to those theological and philosophical studies which engrossed his later years. I have in my possession many notes, corrections, and suggestions, that would probably have been made use of by Lord Crawford in revising and developing his work, but as they stand they are so incomplete and fragmentary—wanting in

the accuracy of research and analysis to which he would so carefully have subjected them, that I have thought it better and juster to himself and the public to reproduce the volumes without alteration, calling the attention of kind readers to the fact that when they were written no work of the kind had yet appeared.

This book might well be termed a Pioneer, showing the way, rousing the energies, and smoothing the difficulties of those who ably and worthily followed on the same path. The labour and research it entailed were very great, and the difficulty of obtaining and verifying evidence, especially at that early time of unawakened interest, was often extreme ; the result in consequence being frequently incomplete, and even at times, in matters of detail, incorrect, as viewed by the light of more recent discoveries. No one was more fully aware of this than Lord Crawford himself, and the knowledge that so many great and able works had been given to the world on these subjects perhaps in some degree lessened his desire again to turn his attention to his own book. "The ground," he used to say, "has now been cut from under my feet."

New and fair buildings have been erected on his foundations, but I think I may be allowed to say that the spirit and feeling of true Christian Art has never been more nobly and worthily set forth than in what Lord Crawford styles, in an Introductory Note, these "'Sketches' merely—an attempt to prepare the way for something better."

As such I have therefore determined to leave them, feeling that, though there may be many more complete guides, more technical exponents of the quality and style of painters, these volumes will still teach many, as they have hitherto done, to love and reverence, and to appreciate the greatness of purpose and singleness of heart which characterised the early days of those arts which bear so important a part in the civilisation and happiness of this work-a-day world. It is pleasant to me as such to place them once more in the hands of the public.

MARGARET CRAWFORD & BALCARRES.

47 Brook Street,
December 1885.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE FIRST EDITION.

The volumes now published comprise a portion only of my projected work on Christian Art; I publish them separately in consequence of the interest newly awakened in the subject, and in the hope that, however imperfect, they may be found useful both to artists and amateurs at the present moment.

I had intended prefixing a General Introduction, but, after much consideration, have postponed it till the work shall be concluded, under the conviction that this will be to the ultimate advantage of all parties. I feel the less scruple in thus postponing it, inasmuch as the reader will find a series of Memoranda respecting the Ideal, the Character and Dignity of Christian Art, and the Symbolism and Mythology of Christianity, preliminary to the work itself, and also a General Classification of Schools and Artists in accordance with the principle on which the work is based; and these may to a certain extent supply the place of the Introduction in question.

With regard to the principle alluded to, I feel myself in rather an embarrassing position. Even if published complete, as a whole, under existing circumstances, the "Sketches" would labour under the disadvantage of being the fragment merely of a scheme too extensive for any single hand to execute, and dependent moreover on a Central Principle as yet unrecognised, on the perception and recognition of which by others I rest my sole hope of seeing it accomplished in detail. No portion, it is evident, of such a scheme can be rightly and fully comprehended without due apprehension of that Central Principle; and I take the liberty, therefore, in the hope of creating a clearer mutual understanding between the reader and myself, and of anticipating various objections that may collaterally arise, to refer the reader to an Essay lately published by me, entitled *Progression by Antagonism*,[1] in which the principle in question is set forth and illustrated.

[1] London: John Murray, 1846.

I will only add that these "Sketches" are addressed in letters to a young amateur artist, presumed to have recently started for Italy, and that, in spite of an insensible transition into the ideal in my view of the character thus addressed, I cannot forego the pleasure of inscribing them to the friend in whose society I have spent many a happy day in exploring the pictorial treasures of Umbria and the Apennine, and for whose use they were originally designed,

SIR COUTTS LINDSAY, BART.

HAIGH, *November 1st*, 1846.[1]

[1] I have been urged to expunge the word "Sketches" from the title-page of these volumes, and term them at once a History. Two reasons oppose themselves to this: First, that a history of Art, worthy of the name, would require a knowledge of the details of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting, far more intimate and scientific than I possess; Secondly, that the documentary evidence, on which alone such a history could be based, is as yet very defective, although every day is adding to the store. The reader will therefore receive these volumes as "Sketches" merely—an attempt to prepare the way for something better.

Before concluding, let me acknowledge a debt of warm and affectionate gratitude to Mlle. Félicie de Fauveau of Florence—the friend of the very dear relatives to whose suggestion and encouragement this work mainly owes its origin—whose society added the charm of enthusiasm and genius to the happy company with which, six years ago, I revisted many of the most interesting cities and districts of Central Italy—whose suggestions, let me add, have since been most useful to me in guiding my researches and qualifying my judgment—and whose kindness will, I trust, absolve me for thus introducing her name without having sought the permission which her delicacy might have withheld. As a sculptress, Mlle. de Fauveau's fame is firmly established by her "Francesca da Rimini,"[1] her "S. George and the Dragon,"[2] and other works, among which I may specify a recent bust of H.R.H. the Duc de Bordeaux. She is also about to execute another of the beautiful Grand-Duchess Olga, of Russia, the Emperor having visited her studio and commanded one during his recent visit to Italy. It is to be regretted when the noble in birth as well as spirit are compelled through political reverses to depend on genius for their bread, but human nature is exalted by it, and Art is a gainer, for the spirit of reverence which inspires the Jacobite or the Carliste is precisely that which wings the Artist to the gates of heaven.

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[1] In the possession of M. le Comte de Portalés, Paris. It is described in Count A. Raczynski's *Histoire de l'Art Moderne en Allemagne*, tom. ii. p. 623.

[2] In the possession of Lord Ellesmere.

MEMORANDA, TOUCHING

PAGE

I. THE IDEAL, AND THE CHARACTER AND DIGNITY OF CHRISTIAN ART . . 1

II. THE SYMBOLISM OF CHRISTIANITY . 7

III. THE MYTHOLOGY OF CHRISTIANITY . 15

GENERAL CLASSIFICATION OF SCHOOLS AND ARTISTS 161

I.

THE IDEAL,

AND

THE CHARACTER AND DIGNITY OF CHRISTIAN ART.

* * * * *

The perfection of Human Nature implies the union of beauty and strength in the Body, the balance of Imagination and Reason in the Intellect, and the submission of animal passions and intellectual pride to the will of God, in the Spirit.

Man was created in this perfection, but Adam fell, and with the Fall the original harmony ceased, the elements of being lost their equipoise; Spirit, Sense and Intellect, with the two elements of Intellect, Reason and Imagination, have ever since been at variance, and consequently every production of man partakes of the imperfection of its parent.

Nevertheless the Moral Sense, although comparatively deadened, still survives, witnessing to what is pure, holy and fitting; and the struggle between Imagination and Reason (marvellously overruled) still reveals to the calm intelligence the vision of Truth immortal in the heavens—of Truth in the Abstract or Universal, inclusive both of particular truth and of that beauty which, being antithetically opposed to it, is falsely deemed its enemy—in a word, of the Ideal, that point of union between God and Man, Earth and Heaven, which, crushed and crippled as our nature is, we can recognise and strive after, but not attain to. Nevertheless it is in thus striving that we fulfil our duty and work out our salvation. So long as we keep the Ideal in view, we rise—from Sense to

Intellect, from Intellect to Spirit. But the moment we look away from it we begin to lose ground and sink—from Spirit to Intellect, from Intellect to Sense—with this difference, that whereas we ascended slowly and with difficulty, yet bearing with us everything worth retention that we had culled in the regions we had left behind—the breezes of a purer and yet purer atmosphere ever fanning our brow—so we sink more rapidly, our backs once turned to the light, and the gross vapours from below overpowering us more and more with their stupifying influence.

This is an universal law of humanity, exemplified in every walk of life, and by the personal experience, more or less, of every individual.

But the history of Man in the aggregate—or, to speak at present more restrictively, of the human race from Noah downwards—affords the most striking and instructive illustration of it; and an enquiry into its operation is the surest test whereby to judge of our progress towards perfection, and to refute the calumny that we stand no higher in the scale of being now, than we did in the days of Pericles or Sesostris.

Man is, in the strictest sense of the word, a progressive being, and, with many periods of inaction and retrogression, has still held, upon the whole, a steady course towards the great end of his existence, the re-union and re-harmonizing of the three elements of his being, dislocated by the Fall, in the service of his God.

Each of these three elements, Sense, Intellect and Spirit, has had its distinct development at three distant intervals, and in the personality of the three great branches of the human family.

The race of Ham, giants in prowess if not in stature, cleared the earth of primeval forests and monsters, built cities, established vast empires, invented the mechanical arts, and gave the fullest expansion to the animal energies :—

After them, the Greeks, the elder line of Japhet, developed the intellectual faculties, Imagination and Reason, more especially the former, always the earlier to bud and blossom; poetry and fiction, history, philosophy and science, alike look back to Greece as their birthplace; on the one hand they put a soul into Sense, peopling the world with their gay mythology, on the other they bequeathed to us, in Plato and Aristotle, the mighty patriarchs of human wisdom, the Darius and the

Alexander of the two grand armies of thinking men whose antagonism has ever since divided the battle-field of the human intellect :—

While, lastly, the race of Shem, the Jews, and the nations of Christendom, their *locum tenentes* as the Spiritual Israel, have, by God's blessing, been elevated in Spirit to as near and intimate communion with Deity as is possible in this stage of being.

Now the peculiar interest and dignity of Art consists in her exact correspondence in her three departments with these three periods of development, and in the illustration she thus affords—more closely and markedly even than literature—to the all-important truth that men stand or fall according as they look up to the Ideal or not.

For example, the Architecture of Egypt, her pyramids and temples, cumbrous and inelegant but imposing from their vastness and their gloom, express the ideal of Sense or Matter —elevated and purified indeed, and nearly approaching the Intellectual, but Material still ; we think of them as of natural scenery, in association with caves or mountains, or vast periods of time ; their voice is as the voice of the sea, or as that of "many peoples," shouting in unison :—

But the Sculpture of Greece is the voice of Intellect and Thought, communing with itself in solitude, feeding on beauty and yearning after truth :—

While the Painting of Christendom—(and we must remember that the glories of Christianity, in the full extent of the term, are yet to come)—is that of an immortal Spirit, conversing with its God.

And as if to mark more forcibly the fact of continuous progress towards perfection, it is observable that although each of the three arts peculiarly reflects and characterises one of the three epochs, each art of later growth has been preceded in its rise, progress and decline by an antecedent correspondent development of its elder sister or sisters—Sculpture, in Greece, by that of Architecture—Painting, in Europe, by that of Architecture and Sculpture. If Sculpture and Painting stand by the side of Architecture in Egypt, if Painting by that of Architecture and Sculpture in Greece, it is as younger sisters, girlish and unformed. In Europe alone are the three found linked together, in equal stature and perfection.

You will not now be surprised at my claiming superiority

for Christian over Classic Art, in all her three departments. If Man stand higher or lower in the scale of being according as he is Spiritual, Intellectual or Sensual, Christian Art must excel Pagan by the same rule and in the same proportion.

As men cannot rise above their principles, so the artists of Greece never rose above the religious and moral sentiments of the age. Their Ideal was that of youth, grace and beauty, thought, dignity and power; Form consequently, as the expression of Mind, was what they chiefly aimed at, and in this they reached perfection. Do not for a moment suppose me insensible to Classic Art—the memories of Greece and of the Palatine are very dear to me—I cannot speak coldly of the Elgin marbles, of the Apollo, the Venus, the Dying Gladiator, the Niobe, the Diana of Gabii, the Psyche of Naples—which comes nearer the Christian ideal than aught else of Grecian growth. But none of these completely satisfy us. The highest element of truth and beauty, the Spiritual, was beyond the soar of Phidias and Praxiteles; it is true, they felt a want—they yearned for it, and this yearning, stamped on their works, constitutes their undying charm. But they yearned in vain—Faith, Hope and Charity, those wings of immortality, as yet were not.

Herein then lies our vantage—not in our merit, not our genius, but in that we are Christians, that we start from a loftier platform, that we are raised by communion with God to a purer atmosphere, in which we see things in the light of Eternity, not simply as they are, but with their ulterior meanings, as shadows of deeper truths—an atmosphere which invests creation with the glow of love, and its human denizens with a beauty and expression of its own, a ray of heaven beaming on the countenance, especially of woman, which mere beauty of intellect or feeling, the highest charm attainable by Greece, can never rival. It is not, in a word, symmetry of Form or beauty of Colouring, apart or conjoined, that is required of us and that constitutes our prerogative, but the conception by the artist and expression to the spectator of the highest and holiest spiritual truths and emotions,—and in this the vantage of the Bible over the Iliad is not more decided than that of Christian over Classic Art—than the depth, intensity, grandeur, and sweetness of the emotions at the command of Christian artists, as compared with those elicited by the ancients. Few will dispute this who have ever soared

into the symbolic heaven of a Lombard or Gothic Cathedral—renewed their vows of chivalry before the S. George of Donatello—or shared the cross and the palm, the warfare and the triumph of the Church of all ages in the sympathy of the Spirit, while contemplating the old Byzantine heads of Christ, the martyrdoms of the Lombard Giotteschi, the Paradises of Fra Angelico, the Madonnas of Perugino, Leonardo and Bellini, the 'Dispute' of Raphael, and the Last Judgments of Orcagna and Michael Angelo.

And yet these too are but aspirations after the Ideal, glimpses of that truth and beauty which the soul seeks after, and of which the prototype exists but in heaven. The Ideal is to us as a bright particular star which we fancy we shall grasp if we reach the top of the mountain, and so we still toil on, up and still upwards for ever; love, if it be true love, supplying the motive to persist, even though the higher we ascend the more distant it appears, the more hopeless our pursuit.

Such is the Ideal, such its influence on the Artist. No work of genius has ever been produced apart from that influence, and nothing in either of the three branches of Art has ever come fully up to its requisitions. Woe to the artist or the man when he begins to be satisfied with himself, when he ceases to exclaim, "Ancora imparo!"—And as for the union of the sister arts in one glorious pile, in that peculiar perfection, harmony, and interdependency, which the mightiest artists have dreamed of and longed to realize, it remains, and must ever remain a dream—unless it indeed be, that, in the life to come, our intellectual as well as our moral faculties are to receive their full expansion in the service of our Maker, and Michael Angelo, Leonardo and Donatello be destined to build, paint and sculpture temples to God's glory, with the materials of that brighter world, throughout Eternity.

Meanwhile we may at least observe—with the deepest reverence—that the three Arts, considered in a Christian sense, as a manifestation of the Supreme Being through the Intellect of Man, His Image, present a sort of earthly shadow of the ineffable and mysterious Trinity in Unity in Its relations with the Material Universe,—Architecture symbolizing the Father, known to us chiefly by the harmony and proportion of what we term His attributes; Sculpture the Son, the Incarnate Form or Outline (so to speak) of the Invisible and Infinite;

Painting the Holy Spirit, the smile of God illumining creation: While the Three Arts are One in essence, co-equal and congenial, as manifested by the inseparable connection and concord observable throughout the whole history of their development, and by the greatest artists in every age of Christendom having almost invariably excelled in all three alike. There is no impiety, I trust, in vindicating this analogy.

II.

TABLE OF SYMBOLS,

PARTLY OF NEW, PARTLY OF PRIMEVAL SIGNIFICANCE,

THE

HIEROGLYPHICAL LANGUAGE OF THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH DURING THE EARLY AGES.

[I have merely noticed those of more frequent occurrence, and in their simplest and primary meaning. For fuller information the reader may consult the 'Roma Subterranea' of Aringhi, *Rome*, 2 tom. fol. 1651; the 'Osservazioni sopra i Cimiteri de' SS. Martiri' of Boldetti, *Rome*, fol. 1720; and the 'Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der Alten Christen' of Dr. Fred. Münter, *Altona*, 2 tom. 4to, 1825. The volume entitled 'Iconographie Chrétienne—Histoire de Dieu,' by M. Didron, published at Paris, 4to, 1843, is the commencement merely of a series of similar works which will probably exhaust the subject of early Christian symbolism and personification.]

HEAVEN is symbolized by the segment of a circle, sometimes of pure blue, sometimes edged with the three colours of the rainbow:—

The Universe—by a globe or sphere, usually of deep blue:—

God the Father—by a hand issuing from the preceding symbol of Heaven, *Ezek.* ii. 9; viii. 3:—

God the Son—by the monogram ☧, formed of the initial letters of the name Christ, in Greek;

—by the Cross, although more correctly the symbol of salvation through the atonement;

—by a rock, 1 *Cor.* x. 4; *Exod.* xvii. 6;

—by a lamb, *Isaiah*, lvii. 7,—frequently with a glory and carrying a cross;

—by a pelican, *Psalm* cii. 6 ;[1]

—by a vine, *John* xv. 1, etc. ;

—by a lamp or candle, as "the light of the world," *John* ix. 5 ;

—and by the 'piscis,' or 'vesica piscis,' as it has been ungracefully termed—a glory encircling the whole body of Our Saviour, shaped like a fish and suggested by the word ἰχθυς, acrostically formed from the initial letters of the titles of Our Saviour, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ υἱὸς, Σωτήρ,—'Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour :'—

God the Holy Ghost—by the dove, usually bearing the olive-branch ;

—by water, either issuing from the beak of the dove, or rising as a fountain from a vase, as the "well of water springing up into everlasting life," *John* iv. 14 ;

—and by a lamp or candlestick—seven of which, ranged to the right and left of the altar, in the old mosaics, signify the gifts of the Spirit, *Rev.* i. 12 ; iv. 5 :—

The Holy Trinity—by the three-coloured rainbow encircling Our Saviour, the visible Form or Image of the Deity, and who sometimes is represented seated upon it, *Ezek.* i. 28 ; *Rev.* iv. 3 ;

—by three beams of light radiating from the head of Christ ;

—and by the extension of the thumb, fore and middle fingers of Our Saviour's hand, as held up in giving the benediction :[2]—

[1] The mediæval interpretation of this symbol is given as follows by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lion King (nephew of the poet), in his MS. 'Collectanea,' preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh :—"The Pellican is ane foule in Egipt, of the quhilkis auld men sayis that the litill birdis straikis thair fader in the face with thair wingis, and crabis him quhill [till] he slayis thame. And quhen the moder seis thame slane, scho greitis [weeps] and makis grit dule thre dayis lang, quhill scho streikis hirself in the breist with hir neb [beak,] and garris the blude skayle [flow] vpone hir birdis, quhairthrow thai restoir and turnis to lyf agane. Bot sum folkis sayis thai ar clekkit swownand [hatched swooning], lyk as thai war bot [without] life, and that thair fader haillis [heals] thame agane with his blude. And this maner haly kirk beiris witnes, quhair our Lord sayis that he is maid lyk the Pelican."

[2] This is the Latin or Western form of blessing ; with the Greeks, as described by M. Didron and constantly seen in the works of Byzantine artists, "L'index s'allonge comme un I, le grand doigt se courbe comme un C, ancien sigma des Grecs, le pouce et l'annulaire se croisent pour faire un X, et le petit doigt s'arrondit pour figurer un C. Tout cela donne IC-XC, monogramme Grec de Jésus Christ, (Ἰησοῦς Χριστός.)"—*Icon. de Dieu*, p. 212.

Paradise—by a mountain, in conformity with the traditions of almost all nations :—

Satan—by the serpent :—

The Obedience and Atonement of Christ—by the Cross, sometimes plain, sometimes richly gemmed, occasionally with roses or flowers springing from it :—

The Course of Human Life—by the Sun and Moon :—

The Church, in her Catholic or general character—by a mountain, as typified by Paradise, and in allusion also to *Dan.* ii. 34 :—

The Church Militant—by a female figure standing, with her hands raised in prayer ;[1]

—by the vine, as "brought out of Egypt," *Psalm* lxxx. 8 ; *Isaiah* v. 1, etc. ;

—and by a vessel in full sail—an emblem originally heathen, but naturalized and carried out into the most minute and fanciful particulars by the ancient Fathers :—

The Church Triumphant—by the New Jerusalem, the city of the Apocalypse, *Rev.* xxi, and *Ezek.* xlvii,—frequently identified with the original Paradise in Eden :—

The Two Covenants, the Old and New Testament—by the "wheel in the middle of a wheel," *Ezek.* i. 16 *sqq.* :—

The Sacrament of Baptism—by water poured on the Cross by the dove :—

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper—by ears of corn or loaves, and grapes or vases of wine :—

The Apostles—by twelve sheep or lambs, usually represented issuing from the cities of Our Saviour's birth and death, Bethlehem and Jerusalem, and approaching a central lamb, figurative of Christ, standing on the Mount of Paradise :—

The Evangelists—by the four mystic animals described in *Rev.* iv. 7 ; *Ezek.* i. 10, x. 14,—the angel being usually assigned to S. Matthew, the lion to S. Mark, the ox to S. Luke, and the eagle to S. John ; and by the four rivers issuing from the Mount of Paradise, "to water the earth," *Gen.* ii. 10 :—

The Faithful—by sheep, as under the charge of the Good Shepherd, Christ, *John* x. 14 ; xxi. 15, 16, 17, etc. ;

—by fish, as caught in the net of the Gospel, *Mat.* xiii. 47, *Mark* i. 17, *Ezek.* xlvii. 9, and new-born in baptism ;

—by doves or other birds, denizens of a loftier and purer

[1] This was in later times identified with the Virgin.

element, either eating grapes or ears of corn, as figurative of the Eucharist, or drinking from the vase and fountain, emblematical of Christ, or holding branches of olive in their beaks, and reposing on the Cross ;

—by stags at the well or water-brook, *Psalm* xlii. 2 ;

—by date-trees or cedars, trees of righteousness planted by the waters and bearing fruit in their season, *Psalm* i. 3, xcii. 12, *Isaiah* lxi. 3, *Jerem.* xvii. 8 ;

—and by little children or genii sporting among the vine-leaves, or plucking the fruit,—and after death, with the wings of Psyche, or the butterfly :—

Sanctity—by the *nimbus*, a circlet of glory round the head, a most ancient symbol, being common to the religions of India, Persia, Egypt, Greece and Rome, from the latter of which it was adopted by the early Christians ; in the case of ordinary Saints the nimbus presents a plain gold field, but within that of Our Saviour the three bands of the rainbow were frequently introduced, in concentric circles—as also the monogram ☧, but this was gradually reduced to the three rays, symbolical, like the rainbow, of the Trinity, as I have shown *infra*, p. 266,—and these were continued long after the nimbus had shrunk to a thin line of gold and disappeared :—

Faith—by the various emblems, above noticed, as symbolical of the Faithful :—

Hope—by the anchor, *Heb.* vi. 19 :—

Charity—by a heart :—

Purity—by the lily :—

Incorruptibility—by the rose of Sharon :—

Watchfulness—by the cock :—

Victory—by the palm-branch, *Rev.* vii. 9, or a wreath or crown, such as was given to the conqueror in the arena, 1 *Cor.* ix. 25, etc. :—

Peace—by a branch or leaf of olive, borne by the dove, symbolical either of the Holy Spirit or of the believer, according to circumstances :—

The Resurrection—by the phœnix, and the peacock, which loses its rich plumage in winter and recovers it in spring :—

Eternity—by a ring or circle, of peace, glory, etc., according to the emblematical import of the material of which it is composed, and within which are frequently inserted the symbols of Our Saviour, the Church, etc. :—

And finally, Eternal Life—by the mystic Jordan, the "river which maketh glad the City of God," formed by the junction of the four evangelical streams, descending from the Mount of Paradise, and in which souls, in the shape of children, are sometimes seen swimming and sporting, precisely as they figure in the mystic Nile, in the tombs of the Pharaohs.—*Ezek.* xlvii. and *Rev.* xxii. 1, 2.

The preceding symbols were varied at pleasure, in endless combination, as may be seen *passim* on the tombs of Ravenna and of the Catacombs, in the old Byzantine mosaics, etc. They were superseded, in great measure, more especially in Europe, towards the sixth and seventh centuries, by a new description of symbolism, of Persian and Teutonic origin, the parent collaterally of our modern heraldry. The ancient symbolism revived, in more than its original depth and complication of meaning, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but only for a moment, and although a few of the symbols have been perpetuated to the present time, the majority are now totally forgotten, West at least of the Adriatic. The Transfiguration, in the church of S. Apollinare in Classe, at Ravenna, described at page 268 of the present volume, may be referred to as an example of the early style, and the great mosaics of S. Clemente and of S. Giovanni Laterano at Rome (*infra*, pages 276 and 331), as specimens of the comparatively modern revival.

In connection with Christian symbolism I may mention the mystical value and appropriation of Colours as a very interesting subject, as yet insufficiently illustrated. More has been asserted on this question than (I fear) can be fairly proved, but I have little doubt that a distinct system had been defined and generally accepted previous to the Confusion of Tongues and the general Dispersion,—at least, the correspondence and agreement on this point between nations very widely apart from each other in race and residence is too close occasionally for explanation otherwise. Nevertheless but little of this symbolism (although largely sanctioned in the Mosaic writings) appears in early Christian art. White indeed, as the colour of innocence, specially fixed (as it were) in the Bible, is the prevailing garb of Apostles, Martyrs, etc.

in the ancient Mosaics, and blue and red that of Our Saviour —but even these are frequently varied; and although the colours used by the Roman Catholic church in the vestments of her clergy are of very ancient prescription, it does not appear that in Art, properly so called, any fixed law or tradition, founded on symbolism, controlled their distribution. It was in later times only, and when the influence of the Teutonic and Scandinavian blood had asserted itself in Europe, that this symbolism was introduced, and even then but partially,—and it seems ever to have been closely connected with heraldry, in which indeed it still survives at the present day.

The symbolical language of the hand, or of signs, is another interesting subject, the investigation of which on an extended scale (which should include America) might throw perhaps more light on ancient art than that of the symbolism of colours, since examples of it may be noticed in many of the old mosaics (and even occasionally) if I mistake not, in the works of Giotto and the Giotteschi—and it extensively prevailed among the ancient Greeks and Etruscans. I may refer, in proof of this, to the volume of the learned Canon Andrea de Jorio, entitled 'La Mimica degli Antichi investigata nel gestire Napoletano,' *Naples*, 8vo, 1832.[1]

Another most interesting work might be written on the symbolism and legendary history of mute nature, mute but animated—of flowers, plants, and trees,—a subject, however, only collaterally and in a minor degree associating itself with Christian art. It forms, in fact, a department by itself, distinct alike from art and from poetry, strictly so called, and well worthy of exploration. And this exploration too should be a comprehensive one, including the symbolism of the ancients[2] and of the extra-European world,—and Christendom need not shrink from the comparison. In nothing, indeed, is her superiority more manifest. The rose, for instance—the flower of Venus, blushing with the blood of Adonis, the

[1] The 'Arte de' Cenni, con la quale formandosi favella visibile, si tratta della muta eloquenza, che non è altro che un facondo silentio,' by Giov. Bonifacio, *Vicenza*, 4to, 1616, is (in spite of its alluring title) a mere commonplace-book of the conventional language of the poets—although far from destitute of merit as such. A curious series of woodcuts, representing the combinations of the fingers by which numbers were expressed by the Orientals, from one to nine thousand, may be found, with illustrative observations, at p. 268 of Pierius' 'Hieroglyphica,' *Basil*, fol. 1575.

[2] This has been treated of in a learned work by M. Dierbach.

darling of the Graces, the symbol of worldly pleasure and of the frailty of a life too brief for its enjoyment—

> "Cogliam la rosa in sul mattino adorno
> Di questo dì, che tosto il seren perde,—
> Cogliam d' amor la rosa, amiamo or quando
> Esser si puote riamato amando!"

—what is it but a weed in comparison with the rose of Christendom, the type of the freshness of maiden purity, that sprang up out of persecution, when the holy maiden of Bethlehem, "blamed with wrong and sclaundered with fornication," as narrated by Mandeville, "was demed to the Dethe, and as the Fyre beganne to brenne aboute hire, sche made hire Preyers to oure Lord, that as sche was not gylty of that Synne, that he wold helpe hire, and make it to be knowen to alle men, of his mercyfulle grace. And whan sche hadde thus seyd, anon was the Fyer quenched and oute, and the Brondes that weren brennynge becomen red Roseres, and the Brondes that weren not kyndled becomen white Roseres, fulle of Roses. And theise weren the first Roseres and Roses, bothe white and red, that ever ony man saughe. And thus was this Mayden saved be the Grace of God."[1] And this is but one among many Christian legends of the rose, once the theme of universal song, sweeter far than that which hushed the very breeze into attention in the gardens of Armida.

Admitting all that has been said, and truly said, and rightly insisted upon, respecting the adoption of Pagan rites and ceremonies into Christianity, it is equally true that our ancestors touched nothing that they did not Christianize; they consecrated this visible world into a temple to God, of which the heavens were the dome, the mountains the altars, the forests the pillared aisles, the breath of spring the incense, and the running streams the music,—while in every tree they sheltered under, in every flower they looked down upon and loved, they recognised a virtue or a spell, a token of Christ's love for man, or a memorial of his martyrs' sufferings. God was emphatically in all their thoughts, and from such, whatever might be their errors, God could not be far distant.—It would be well for us could we retain that early freshness in association with a purer and more chastened creed, but this may scarcely be. The world rolls on, and the Universal, like

[1] 'Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville, Knight,' p. 84, edit. 1727.

the Individual man, grows in years and in experience, and at fifty he offers God a service more acceptable than at twenty-five, inasmuch as it is a "reasonable" and a comprehensive one; but, there is no denying it, as Reason ripens the flowers of Imagination fade, the freshness of morning dies away, and as he nighs the Western Ocean he looks wistfully backward, and sighs for the breeze of Eden which he has left behind. But still his course is forward—his good steed, Hope, bears steadily on, and the shadow of his lance, the legacy of his wisdom, lengthens as he moves; and still, as he descends towards that far-spread Ocean, the Islands of the Blest rise loftier and distincter to his view, as the sun of his career sinks behind them. We must allow no turning back, then—no compromise of the ground we have won; we are men, not children, we tilt with spears, not straws; and yet it may be pardoned if we remember with a tender yearning the days of our youth, when life was love and the waters of the heart were sweet within us, and thus remembering, we should humbly pray, that, with the experience and fixed purposes of manhood God may yet preserve in our hearts some tincture of that childlike faith and simple earnestness which Our Saviour loved, and in which our fathers, the objects too often of our scorn—to whom the rose and the lily were dear, not for their mere beauty and fragrance, but as the types of that love and innocence which accomplished our salvation—were such proficients.

III.

CHRISTIAN MYTHOLOGY,

LEGENDS OF THE PATRIARCHS, SAINTS, ETC., THE MATERIALS OF CHRISTIAN ART DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.[1]

[Selected from the mass with the view of familiarizing the student with the outline of the popular creed of early Christendom. They may be arranged under the following heads :—

I. Of the Universe—Earth, Hell, Purgatory, Heaven, etc.
II. Of the Heavenly Hierarchies.
III. Of the Fall of Lucifer and his Angels.
IV. Of the Death of Adam.
V. Of the Death of Cain.
VI. Of the Sethites.
VII. Of Nimrod, the inventor of Idolatry, and of the Trial of Abraham.
VIII. Of Orpheus.
IX. Of the Sibyls.
X. Of the Nativity, the Dedication, and the Marriage of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
XI. Of the Nativity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the Cave at Bethlehem.

[1] There are various collections of the Lives of the Saints, from the unfinished 'Acta Sanctorum' of the Bollandists—already extending to fifty-three folio volumes, ending with the middle of October—to the more manageable yet still bulky compilations of Ribadaneyra and Alban Butler. But these latter writers, more especially Butler, completely destroy the interest of the old legends by the apologizing tone and lurking distrust with which they narrate them,—Butler, indeed, constantly explains them away. For the purposes of art, the 'Lombardic History,' or 'Golden Legend' (as it is indifferently termed) of James de Voragine, Archbishop of Genoa, repeatedly published in different languages, including a version by Caxton, during the fifteenth century, is excellent ; but I would recommend in preference the 'Catalogus Sanctorum' of Peter de Natalibus, Bishop of Aquileja, a portable folio, printed at Venice and Vicenza in 1493, and which gives the legends succinctly and in the best taste, without moral reflections—in short, with all the simplicity and faith of childhood, exactly as they were

XII. Of the Magi or Wise Men, commonly called the Three Kings of the East.
XIII. Of the Flight into Egypt.
XIV. Of the Blessed Virgin's Vigil by the Cross.
XV. Of Our Saviour's Descent into Hell or Hades.
XVI. Of the Composition of the Apostles' Creed.
XVII. Of the Death and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.
XVIII. Of Simon Magus and S. Peter.
XIX. Of the Origin, Invention, and Exaltation of the Cross; of the Conversion of Constantine and Helen, and of the Political Establishment of Christianity.
XX. Legends of Martyr Saints :—
1. Of S. James the Greater.
2. Of S. Cecilia.
3. Of S. Catherine.
4. Of S. George.
5. Of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.
6. Of S. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins.
7. Of S. Christopher.
XXI. Legends of Ascetic or Monastic Saints :—
1. Of S. Mary Magdalen.
2. Of the Fathers of the Desert :—
i. Of S. Paul the Proto-hermit.
ii. Of the Temptations of S. Antony.
iii. Of S. Hilarion.
iv. Of S. John of Lycopolis.
v. Of S. Macarius, S. Ammon, S. Serapion, etc.
3. Of St. Jerome.
4. Of St. Martin.

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credited at the time.[1] I may add that the first and second books of the History of Normandy by Ordericus Vitalis (published at large in the 'Scriptores' of Duchesne, and translated in the collection of 'Mémoires Historiques' of M. Guizot), contain the legends of the Apostles, Evangelists, early Popes, etc., narrated in a very pleasing manner. The 'Vitæ Sanctorum' of Lipomanus (*Lovanii*, 2 tom. fol. 1571), differ from the preceding compilations in giving the original narratives (the Greek being translated) instead of the popular legends. In this point of view it is a very useful compilation. Respecting the beneficial moral effect of these legends on the popular mind of Europe, especially of the lower classes, during the middle ages, see M. Guizot's 'Hist. de la Civilisation en France,' tom. ii, pp. 38 *sqq*. The 'Essai sur les Légendes Pieuses du Moyen Age,' of M. Alfred Maury (*Paris*, 8vo. 1843), is a most interesting and learned disquisition, but his views of Scriptural history, miracles, etc., are those avowedly of the rationalist German school. Lastly, Mrs. Jameson has done much by her two very interesting volumes on 'Sacred and Legendary Art' (published in 1848) to familiarize her countrymen not only with the noble works of early Italian art, but with the origin and progress of the great revival at present going on in Germany.

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[1] There is also a very convenient 'Leggendario,' translated from the Spanish 'Flos Sanctorum' of Villegas, and printed at Venice in 1622, a small thick quarto, and editions of this description are very numerous.

5. Of St. Benedict.
6. Of St. Bruno.
7. Of St. Bernard.
XXII. Legends of National and Local Saints.
XXIII. Table of Symbols or Emblems of the more popular Saints.
XXIV. Floating Legends.
XXV. Of the Signs which shall precede the Second Coming of Our Lord.
XXVI. Of the Last Judgment.][1]

I. Of the Universe—Earth, Hell, Purgatory, Heaven, etc.

According to the popular belief of the middle ages the Universe lay folded (as it were) in concentric circles around Hell, situated in the centre of the Earth, the place of punishment being divided into circles and abysses corresponding to the particular crimes of man,—Satan, seated on his burning throne, presiding over them; punishment there was eternal. A little above Hell lay Purgatory, where souls destined for ultimate beatification were purged or cleansed. Above Purgatory was Limbo, a place neither of joy nor suffering, the abode of unchristened babes and of virtuous men, whether Jews or Gentiles, who had died before Christ's atonement and resurrection, and from which Our Saviour, on descending into Hades, reclaimed and liberated the spirits of Adam and Eve, the patriarchs, etc., and conducted them into Paradise.[2] The surface of the Earth was divided into the three continents, Paradise being understood still to exist in the remote East, as the abode of the disembodied spirits of the just,—elevated on a lofty mountain answering to the Mount Meru of the Hindoos, the Elburz of the Persians, the Olympus of the Greeks, the Asgard of the early Scandinavians, etc.,[3] walled in, however, and inaccessible to embodied spirits, a bridge communicating between it and heaven. The Earth was engirdled by the three remaining elements of Water, Air, and Fire, each of the four being peopled (independently of man and of the races subject to him) by its own peculiar creation of Elves, Gnomes,

[1] Various legends, here omitted, will be detailed at large, in connection with the frescoes that illustrate them, in the following pages.

[2] The only heathen ever promoted from Limbo to Paradise was the Emperor Trajan, who obtained this grace through the intercession of the pope, S. Gregory the Great.

[3] Even the Mount Zion of the Jews, in its mystic or Christian sense, associates itself with these.

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Fairies, Sylphs, Naiads, and other similar beings, answering to the Satyrs, Fauns, Nymphs, Oreads, Dryads, etc., of Classic mythology. Beyond the region of Fire, continually soaring upwards, succeeded the spheres of the seven planets, Luna, Mercury, Venus, Sol, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, all of them influential, singly and in conjunction, on the character and destinies of man—the Firmament, or Eighth heaven, of stars, forming the signs of the zodiac—the Crystalline, or Ninth heaven, of pure ether—and the Primum Mobile, a void—the whole continually revolving round the Earth, and encompassed in their turn by the Empyrean, the first work of creation and the residence and throne of God, who reigned there in the personality of Jesus Christ, surrounded by the Angels in their nine orders, and attended by the Virgin and S. John the Baptist, the Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs and Saints, the Patriarchs, Adam and Eve, etc., offering perpetual worship and observance.—See the 'Historia Scolastica' of Peter Comestor, the 'Margarita Philosophica' of Albert ab Eyb, or almost any of the early chronicles.

Many, however, of the above details and even parts of the grand outline varied at different periods, and I will merely add that much and minute information concerning the popular notions of the universe may be found in the very interesting volume by Mr. Wright, entitled 'St. Patrick's Purgatory, an Essay on the Legends of Purgatory, Hell, and Paradise, current during the middle ages.' These might perhaps be investigated still further, in connection with the various Oriental mythologies and cosmogonies, and would thus form a most interesting chapter in the history of religion. The notion for instance of a purgatorial fire is extremely ancient, and the tortures depicted in the paintings of the Buddhists so strongly resemble those of the Byzantine or mediæval representations of Hell, that one would suppose them to be directly copied from them, were not the Buddhist doctrine sufficient of itself to have suggested them. Mr. Upham has illustrated them throughout from Dante.—*History and Doctrines of Buddhism*, pp. 106 *sqq.*

II. Of the Heavenly Hierarchies.

The heavenly host is divided (according to ecclesiastical authorities) into three hierarchies, and each hierarchy into three orders, nine therefore in all.

To the Upper hierarchy belong the Seraphim, Cherubim and Thrones, dwelling nearest to God and in contemplation rather than action, and to whom appertain, severally and distinctively, perfect love, perfect wisdom, and perfect rest;

To the Middle hierarchy—the Dominations, Virtues and Powers,—to whom are committed the general government of the Universe, the gift of miracles in the cause of God, and the office of resisting and casting out devils;

To the Lower—the Principalities, Archangels and Angels, —entrusted with the rule and ordinance of nations, that of provinces or cities, and that of individuals of the human race,—every man being attended by two angels, the one evil, persuading him to sin, for the exercise of his faith, the other good, suggesting righteousness and truth and protecting him from the former:—

While the whole nine Orders are paralleled with the officers who at various distances surround the throne of a king, the vicegerent of God on earth,—the three of the Upper hierarchy corresponding to the Councillors, Assessors and Chamberlains that immediately attend his person; the three of the Middle, to the Princes, Nobles and Judges entrusted with the general government of his kingdom; and the three of the Lower to the Prefects, Bailiffs and Magistrates who conduct its local affairs.

See the tract 'De Cœlesti Hierarchiâ,' with the comments by George Pachymer, the Byzantine historian, and Father Corderius, in the first volume of the works attributed to Dionysius Areopagita, *edit. Antv.* 2 *tom. fol.* 1634,—and the 'Catalogus Sanctorum' of Peter de Natalibus. The origin indeed of these ideas is far more ancient than the pseudo-Dionysius, and probably than the Christian era, and must be sought for apparently in the remote East, among the Chaldæans and Medo-Persians.

The student of heraldry need not be reminded of the fanciful analogies that abound in the old writers, between the nine orders of angels and the nine precious stones, the nine degrees of dignity, the nine articles of gentleness, the nine virtues of chivalry, the nine vices contrary to gentlemen, etc. etc.

III. Of the Fall of Lucifer and his Angels.

"Quhen God, the plasmatour of all,
Into the hevin Emperiall
Did creat all the angels bricht,
He made ane angell maist of micht,
To quhome he gaif preeminence
Above thame all in sapience;
Because all other he did prefer,
Namit he was bricht Lucifer.
He was sa plesant and sa fair,
He thocht himself without compair,
And grew so gay and glorious
He gan to be presumptuous,
And thocht that he wald set his seat
Into the North,[1] and mak debait
Agane the majeste divyne:"[2]—

But the particulars of his rebellion, as usually conceived in the middle ages, are set forth with more minuteness in the ancient Mysteries, of which I may refer especially to that printed by Mr. Wright among the 'Chester Plays,' entitled the 'Fall of Lucifer,' and written in the fourteenth century.[3] It opens with the converse of the Deity with Himself, while creating the heaven and the angelic orders,

"Each one with other, as it is right,
To walk aboute the Trinitie,"

and of whom Lucifer and Lightborn are the first and the brightest. God places Lucifer next his throne, and warning him to be lowly and humble, departs, leaving it vacant. After awhile Lucifer begins,

"'Aha! that I am wondrous bright,
Among you all shynning full clear!
Of all heaven I bear the light,
Though God himself and he were heare.
All in this throne yf that I were,
Then should I be as wyse as he;
What say you, Angels that be here?
Some comfort soon now let me see.'"

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[1] *Isaiah*, xiv. 13.

[2] From the Lion King, Sir David Lindsay's 'Monarchie,' the last of the chronicles of the middle ages, and in which and Sir David's other works constant illustrations occur of Christian art. *Works*, tom. iii, p. 360, ed. *Chalmers*.

[3] The scenes in the Mysteries were evidently in many instances arranged as *tableaux* from the traditional compositions of art.

—The various orders, Dominations, Principalities, etc. dissuade him, but in vain, and seconded by Lightborn, he seats himself in the throne, saying,

"'Above great God I will me guide,
And sette myself here as I ween;
I am peerless and prince of pride,
For God himself shines not so sheen.
Here will I sit now in his stead,
To exalt myself in this same see—
Behold my body, hands and head,
The might of God is marked in me.
All angels, turn to me, I rede,
And to your sovereign kneel on your knee;
I am your comfort, both lord and head,
The mirth and might of the majestie.'"

—Lightborn follows with similar blasphemies, and the Deity then returns and passes sentence on both; they fall down into hell with their abettors and are changed into demons, and the piece concludes with their mutual curses and recriminations, and the moral, put into the mouth of God, that pride must fall.

Amid a thousand errors of taste, and a boldness of imagery and language startling now-a-days, and full indulgence in that passion for the grotesque which is such a singular element of the Teutonic mind, and ought to be explored and compared in all its different channels of development, these old Mysteries must have had a wholesome influence on the people, as their moral is uniformly sound, and the irreverence usually objected to them resembles the familiarity which plays round objects of intimate trust and love rather than the disrespect and profanity of an age of scepticism like ours.[1]

IV. Of the Death of Adam.

"And the Crystene men, that dwellen bezond the See, in Grece, seyn that the tree of the Cros, that we callen Cypresse, was of that tree that Adam ete the Appulle of: and that fynde thei writen. And thei seyn also that here [their]

[1] Being too long for insertion here, let me refer to the touching scene of the Offering of Isaac in the 'Histories of Lot and Abraham,' in the 'Chester Plays,' pp. 64-73,—a subject frequently depicted with all its incidents, in the early mosaics and frescoes, and with the same simple naïveté and pathos. It is only during the childhood and youth of a nation that its poets can amplify Scripture in the spirit of Scripture.

Scripture seythe, that Adam was seik, and seyde to his sonne Sethe that he scholde go to the Aungelle that kepte Paradys, that he wolde senden hym Oyle of Mercy for to anoynte his membres with, that he myghte have hele. And Sethe went. But the Aungelle wold not lat him come in, but seyd to him that he myghte not have of the Oyle of Mercy. But he toke him three greynes of the same Tree that his fadre ete the Appulle offe, and bad him, als sone as his fadre was ded, that he scholde putte theise three Greynes undre his tonge, and grave him so: and he dide. And of theise three Greynes sprong a Tree, as the Aungelle seyde that it scholde, and bere a Fruyt, thorghe the whiche Fruyt Adam scholde be saved. And whan Sethe cam azen [again], he fonde his fadre nere ded. And whan he was ded, he did with the Greynes as the Aungelle bad him; of the whiche sprongen three Trees, of the whiche the Cros was made, that bare gode Fruyt and blessed, oure Lord Jesus Crist; thorghe whom Adam and alle that comen of him scholde be saved and delyvered from drede of Dethe withouten ende, but it be here [their] own defaute." —*Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville, etc.*, p. 13.

V. Of the Death of Cain.

He is said to have lived to a great age, a wanderer on the earth, and known every-where by the continual trembling of his head, the mark set upon him by God, lest any one should kill him. He was at last slain inadvertently, while sleeping in a thicket, by the arrow of his descendant Lamech, to whom the attendant of the latter pointed him out as a wild beast, being deceived by his appearance, overgrown with long shaggy hair. Lamech, on discovering his error, slew the youth. See Comestor's 'Historia Scolastica,' or any of the ancient chronicles. This double bloodshed was supposed to be alluded to in the remarkable song or poem (the oldest probably in existence) addressed by Lamech to his two wives, Adah and Zillah, *Gen.* iv. 23.

VI. Of the Sethites.

The posterity of Seth are reputed to have been the first ascetics, dwelling apart, in Mount Hermon, till their descent into the plains and intermixture with the "daughters of men," or the race of Cain.—*D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orientale.*—They

were the depositories also of the seven sciences revealed to Adam by God, and which Seth engraved on two columns, the one of brick the other of stone, that they might survive the deluge.—See the Antiquities of Josephus, *lib.* i. *cap.* 2.

VII. Of Nimrod, the Inventor of Idolatry, and of the Trial of Abraham.

Nimrod is represented in the ancient chronicles as of gigantic stature, ten or twelve cubits in height, and as the inventor of idolatry. After the destruction of the Tower of Babel and the dispersion of nations, he returned to Chaldæa and persuaded the inhabitants to worship fire. He built a vast furnace, and commanded that whoever should refuse to offer adoration should be cast into it. Abraham and his brother Terah refused, and Nimrod cast them in; Terah perished, but Abraham came out unhurt.[1]

VIII. Of Orpheus.

The legends of his marvellous minstrelsy, his taming the wild beasts, his descending into hell, etc., received an interpretation of their own from the early Christians, and he is frequently introduced as a type of the Messiah in early Christian art.

IX. Of the Sibyls.

Ten are usually reckoned by the writers of the middle ages, named, after their respective birth places or residence, the Persian, Libyan, Delphic, Cumæan, Erythræan, Samian, Cuman, Hellespontine, Phrygian and Tiburtine,—the latter of

[1] The Mahometan writers transpose the order of events, asserting that Nimrod's desire to see and measure his strength with the God who had saved Abraham induced him to build the Tower of Babel, and afterwards to attempt to fly to heaven in a coffer, to which he had harnessed four of the monstrous birds named Karkes, celebrated in Eastern legend; after flying to and fro for some time, they threw him so rudely to the ground that the mountain on which he fell was shaken to its foundations. Continuing in his obduracy, and many still adhering to him after the Dispersion, the Almighty sent a plague of gnats, which killed nearly all his followers, and one of which, entering his nostrils, penetrated to the brain, and enlarging there, gave him such torture that he could only sleep after beating his head with a mallet, and he suffered in this manner four hundred years, God willing to punish by the most insignificant of his creatures the man who had insolently boasted himself the Lord of all. See D'Herbelot's *Bibl. Orientale*, art. *Nemrod*.

whom is said to have shown the Emperor Augustus, in a vision, the Virgin and child in heaven. All of them are supposed to have prophesied of Christ; they are constantly associated with the prophets, apostles and evangelists, in painting and sculpture, and even chapels were occasionally dedicated to them. For their attitude and attire, the colours of their robes, and the words of their respective prophecies, as current especially in Germany, see the 'Nuremberg Chronicle,' 1493, *fol.* 35, *verso.* The 'Sibyllina oracula' are well known, and preserve many valuable traditions.

X. Of the Nativity, the Dedication, and the Marriage of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

[Chiefly from the Apocryphal 'Gospel of the Birth of Mary,' translated by S. Jerome, and abridged in the 'Catalogus Sanctorum' of Peter de Natalibus. Another version of the legend, which may be considered as that more peculiarly of Greek or Eastern Christendom, may be found in the 'Protevangelion,' attributed to S. James the Less. The originals both of it and the 'Gospel of the Birth of Mary,' are printed in Philo's 'Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti,' *Lips.* 1832, tom. i.[1]]

"Joachim, of Galilee, of the city of Nazareth and tribe of

[1] Almost all the apocryphal Gospels, Acts, etc., may be traced, generally, to the early sect of Docetæ, a branch of the Gnostics, the introducers of the Mystic philosophy into Christianity, and in particular, to a certain Leucius, said to have been a disciple (originally) of S. John, and who opposed these forgeries to the genuine writings of the Apostles, with the view of supporting the peculiar tenets of the sect, namely —that Light and Darkness, Spirit and Matter, are coeternally and coequally opposed in hostility,—that Matter is essentially corrupt and sinful, and Spirit essentially pure and divine, a particle in fact of the Deity,—that our spirits being in this life imprisoned within our bodies, the flesh must be crushed to impotence if the spirit would be free,—that this depending on the will of man, an atonement for sin is unnecessary,—that, as a means to this, celibacy is to be commended and marriage depreciated,—that the Blessed Mary was ever Virgin,—that the body of Our Saviour was a body only in appearance, and that a phantom, merely, suffered on the cross,—that the pains of death are unfelt and the spirit departs easily in proportion as the body is pure and uncontaminated,—and that the resurrection takes place in every instance at the death of the individual, the body dropping off for ever and resolving itself into dust, its kindred mass of corruption. The early Church, in rejecting the leading principle of the heresy, and condemning the heretics, sanctioned notwithstanding, or at least winked at the circulation of the fables devised by them in its support,[1] and these have become the mythology of Christianity,

[1] The condemnation of a number of the Apocryphal writings by Pope Gelasius seems to have proved (ultimately) a dead letter.

Judah, espoused Anna, daughter of Garizi, of Bethlehem, of the same tribe. And they were both just before God, and divided all their substance into three parts, whereof they apportioned one to the temple and its ministers, another to pilgrims and the poor, and the third to themselves and their household. And thus living for twenty years, and being without children, they vowed to the Lord, that, if he gave them offspring, they would dedicate the child to His service. For the which cause visiting Jerusalem constantly at the three great feasts, Joachim, with his tribesmen, went up at the feast of the Dedication, and entering the temple with the rest, he made offer to present his oblation at the altar of the Lord. But Issachar, the high priest, repelled him as one unworthy, being childless in Israel. Joachim therefore, being ashamed, returned home, fearing lest his friends should reproach him also, and being in much sorrow, he went apart and abode with his shepherds in the wilderness.

"But after certain days, the angel of the Lord stood near him, with a great light, and when he trembled at the vision, the angel comforted him, saying, that he was sent to him from the Lord to tell him that his prayers had been heard, and that his alms had risen up in the sight of the Most High, and that God had witnessed his shame and the injustice of his reproach, and that, like Sarah and Rachel of old, Anna his wife should conceive and bear a child, who should be called Mary and be consecrated to the Lord according to his

universally credited among the Southern nations of Europe, while many of the dogmas which they were grounded upon have, as a natural consequence, crept gradually into the faith. The Gnostics, on the other hand, were sound as regarded the divinity of Our Saviour, which was fiercely attacked by the Judaizing Ebionites. Both sects, although as yet in the germ only, were manifesting themselves during the latter years of S. John, who wrote his Gospel to vindicate the truth both from one and the other.

Leucius is said to have been a Greek, and was evidently a man of genius and taste; but his writings have been so disfigured and interpolated that it is very difficult to distinguish between his own statements and those of his successors. Many indeed of the pseudo-Gospels, traceable to him in their origin, are, as they now appear, puerile in the extreme,[1] some of them even imputing malignity to Our Saviour's childhood. The reader may consult the 'Histoire Critique du Manichéisme,' by the learned Beausobre, second part, second book, tom. i, pp. 337-424.

1 *E.g.*, according to the 'Gospel of the Infancy of Christ,' Joseph was a very bad carpenter, and whenever he made his chests or tables too short or too long, Our Saviour would touch, or stretch out his hand towards them, and they expanded or contracted to the correct dimensions.

vow,—and that she should be full of the Holy Ghost from her mother's womb, and should dwell for ever in the temple of the Lord,—and that, as she should be born supernaturally from a sterile womb, so she should supernaturally bring forth the Son of the Most High, who should be called of all nations, Jesus, the Saviour. And the angel gave him a sign, that he should meet his wife, Anna, at the Golden Gate of Jerusalem, coming to meet him, for that she was troubled at his long absence. And, after saying these things, the angel disappeared.

"And while Anna wept bitterly, and knew not where her husband was, the same angel appeared to her, and with the selfsame message, adding, as a sign, that she should go to the Golden Gate, and should there meet her husband. Meeting therefore there, and rejoicing in the vision, Joachim and Anna returned home, expectant of the promise.

"And Anna conceived and bare a daughter, and they called her name Mary. And, three years being completed after the weaning of the child, they brought her, with offerings, to the temple, to be dedicated to the Lord. And there were around the temple fifteen steps, according to the fifteen psalms of Degrees. And the Virgin being placed on the lowest step ascended them all by herself, without assistance, as if she had been of perfect age. And after making their offerings, her parents left her with the other virgins in the temple, and returned home. And Mary lived day by day in all holiness in the temple, in prayer and meditation, and study of the word of God, holding converse with angels, and fed with celestial food from heaven, and increasing in stature, and wisdom, and grace before God and man.

"And when Mary was fourteen years of age, the high priest commanded that the virgins brought up in the temple should return home and be wedded according to the law. And all obeyed except Mary, who replied that she might not, as her parents had dedicated her to the Lord, and she had herself vowed her virginity to God. And the high priest being perplexed between Mary's vow (which ought to be kept) on the one hand, and the introduction of a new custom in Israel, on the other, summoned the elders together to consult upon this matter. And, as they prayed, a voice came from the Sanctuary, commanding that every man of the House of David, who was not wedded, should place his rod on the altar, and that he whose rod should bud, and the Holy Spirit descend

upon it in the form of a dove, according to the prophecy of Isaiah,[1] should be the spouse of Mary.

"And there was among the rest a certain Joseph, of the House of David, an old man and a widower, and who had sons and grandsons. And, thinking it unseemly that an aged man should marry a tender virgin, when the others presented their rods, he withheld his own. And no miracle appearing, the High Priest inquired of the Lord. Who answered that he only to whom the Virgin was to be espoused had not presented his rod. So Joseph was brought forward, and presented his rod, and straightway it budded, and the dove descended from heaven and settled upon it. And it was clear to all men that Mary was to be his wife. And after espousing her, he returned to Bethlehem to put his house in order, but Mary, with five other virgins, her companions, went home to her parents at Nazareth.

"And in those days the angel Gabriel appeared to her while she prayed, etc. etc."

XI. Of the Nativity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the Cave at Bethlehem.

[From the 'Protevangelion,' cap. 19; *Codex Apocr. N. Test.* tom. i, p. 245, edit. *Thilo.*]

"And the midwife went with Joseph, and stood in front of the cave. And a cloud overshadowed the cave. And the midwife said, My soul is magnified this day, that I have seen this marvellous thing, and that salvation is born to Israel. And suddenly the cloud shrunk away, and a great light shone in the cave, so that our eyes could not bear it, and, after a little, that light diminished, until the child appeared, and sucked the breast of his mother, Mary."[2]

[1] *Isaiah* xi, 1.

"From Jesse's root behold a branch arise,
Whose sacred flower with fragrance fills the skies;
Th' etherial Spirit o'er its leaves shall move,
And on its top descends the mystic Dove."

Pope's *Messiah.*

[2] Artists, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, frequently represented the Virgin kneeling and adoring the new-born child, in order to express her delivery without suffering.

XII. Of the Magi or Wise Men, commonly called the Three Kings of the East.

[From the Second Homily on the First Chapter of S. Matthew, in a Commentary by an uncertain author (but a Latin and an Arian, flourishing at the end of the sixth or beginning of the seventh century),[1] printed among the spurious works of S. Chrysostom, *edit. Benedict.* 1817, tom. 6, p. xxviii, at the end of the volume.]

"I have heard speak of a certain writing, not perhaps deserving implicit credit, yet not repugnant to the faith, but rather agreeable to it, how there dwelt a certain nation close to the Ocean, at the very extremity of the East, among whom a writing was current, inscribed with the name of Seth, concerning this star which was to appear, and the gifts to be offered after this manner, and which had been handed down from father to son through the generations of learned men. For twelve of the more learned, and lovers of celestial mysteries, had elected and disposed themselves to watch for that star. And when any of them died, his son or one of his kindred, who was found of that mind, was appointed in his place. And they were called Magi in their tongue, because they glorified God in silence and inward prayer. These, therefore, year by year, after the threshing out of the corn, ascended into a certain mountain, called in their language Mons Victorialis, having in it a certain cave in the rock, and most grateful and pleasant with fountains and choice trees, into which ascending, and bathing themselves, they prayed and praised God in silence three days. And thus they did, generation after generation, ever watching lest peradventure that star of beatitude should arise upon themselves,—until it appeared unto them, descending on the Mons Victorialis, having within itself the form as it were of a man-child, and above it the similitude of a cross. And it spake to them, and taught them, and commanded that they should go into Judea. And journeying thither for the space of two years, the star went before them, and neither food nor drink failed in their vessels. And what further they did is told compendiously in the Gospel. And after they had returned home, they continued worshipping and glorifying God more zealously than before, and preached to all in their nation, and instructed many. And finally when

[1] See the preliminary *Diatriba* of the Editors.

the Apostle Thomas went into that country after the resurrection of the Lord, they joined him, and after being baptized of him, were made assistants in his ministry."

The Legend, in its complete and current form, bears, in addition to the above, that the wise men were the posterity and successors of Balaam, and the prophecy in their keeping that in *Numbers*, xxiv. 17, "There shall come a star out of Israel," etc.,—that they watched by three at a time,—that the three only, to whom the star was revealed, worshipped at Bethlehem,—that their names were Gaspar, Melchior and Balthasar, the first of sixty, the second of forty, and the third of twenty years of age,—that they were of kingly, or, at least, of princely rank,[1]—that, starting from three different points, and travelling apart, they met, notwithstanding, at the same moment at the spot where the three roads joined, and thus proceeded together to Bethlehem,—and that, after death, their bodies were translated to Constantinople, from thence to Milan, and finally to Cologne, where they are still preserved in the Cathedral.

XIII. Of the Flight into Egypt.

When the Holy Family were departing from Bethlehem, they passed certain husbandmen, occupied in a field, and the Virgin begged them to answer, in reply to any who might inquire "when the Son of Man passed by," that he did so "when they were sowing the corn,"—which they were doing at the moment. The corn sprang up into the ear in the course of the night, and they were engaged in reaping it the following day, when the soldiers of Herod came up, and inquired after the fugitives; the reapers replied as the Virgin had directed, and the pursuit was stayed. This legend is frequently represented in early German and Flemish pictures, but I have never met with it in the old Hagiographers. It was related to me many years ago, as current in the North of Scotland, where it is added that a little black beetle lifted up his head and answered, "The Son of Man passed here last

[1] According to a variation of the legend, they ruled over Tharsus or Thrace, Sheba, and Nubia, thus representing the three continents or quarters of the earth; the King of Nubia is therefore frequently (more especially in German art) represented as a negro.

night!" in consequence of which the Highlanders kill the black beetle whenever they meet with it, repeating the words, "Beetle, beetle, last night!" in execration. I have read somewhere that a similar superstition formerly prevailed in Wales.

"At Babylon" (Cairo), says Jacques de Vitry, Bishop of Acre, who died in 1264, "is a very ancient date-tree, which spontaneously bent itself to the Blessed Virgin when she wished to eat of its fruit, and rose again after she had gathered it. The Saracens, seeing this, cut the tree down, but the following night it sprang up again, as straight and entire as before, and consequently they now venerate and adore it. The marks of the axe are visible to this day."—*Hist. Orientalis*, lib. 3, in Martenne's *Thesaurus*, vol. 3, p. 375.—The Virgin is said, in the Koran, to have borne Our Saviour, leaning against a withered date-tree, which miraculously let fall ripe fruit for her refreshment.—Sale's *Koran*, cap. 19, p. 250. A fountain is also said to have sprung up miraculously to quench their thirst; it is still shewn under the name of 'Ain Shems,' or the Fountain of the Sun, at Mataria, near the ancient Heliopolis, not far from Cairo.

"And Joseph drew nigh to a great city" (Hermopolis), "in which there was an idol, to which the other idols and deities of Egypt offered gifts and vows. And a priest stood there ministering, who as often as Satan spake from that idol, related his sayings to the inhabitants of Egypt and her coasts. And near that idol stood the hospice of the city, which after Joseph and Mary had entered, the citizens were in great consternation. And all the princes and priests of the idols assembled before the idol, asking, 'What is this consternation and trembling that hath fallen upon our country?'—And the idol answered, 'The Unknown God, who is God indeed, hath come hither, nor is any one else worthy of divine honour, for He is in truth the Son of God; it is at His fame this region trembleth, by His coming it is commoved and quaketh, and we also tremble at the greatness of His power.' And that same hour the idol fell."—*From the Gospel of the Infancy of Our Saviour*, cap. 10; *Codex Apocr. N. Test.* tom. i, p. 75.

XIV. Of the Blessed Virgin's Vigil by the Cross.

This is a favourite subject of representation in early Christian art. She is occasionally represented with a sword in her heart, in allusion to the prophecy of Simeon, *Luke* ii, 35. I subjoin a translation of the 'Stabat Mater,' as the best possible commentary upon it, and, generally speaking, on the mediæval veneration of the Madonna, which is to be distinguished from ours, as regarding her as an intercessor and mediatrix rather than the purest and most holy of the daughters of Adam.

STABAT MATER DOLOROSA, etc.

"By the Cross, sad vigil keeping,
Stood the mournful mother weeping,
While on it the Saviour hung;
In that hour of deep distress,
Pierc'd the sword of bitterness
Through her heart, with sorrow wrung.

"Oh! how sad, how woebegone
Was that ever blessed One,
Mother of the Son of God!
Oh! what bitter tears she shed
Whilst before her Jesus bled,
'Neath the Father's penal rod!

"Who 's the man could view unmoved
Christ's sweet mother, whom He loved
In such dire extremity?
Who his pitying tears withhold,
Christ's sweet mother to behold
Sharing in his agony?

"For the Father's broken law,
Mary thus the Saviour saw
Sport of human cruelties,—
Saw her sweet, her only son,
God-forsaken and undone,
Die, a sinless sacrifice!

"Mary mother, fount of love,
Make me share thy sorrow, move
All my soul to sympathy!
Make my heart within me glow
With the love of Jesus—so
Shall I find acceptancy.

"Print, oh mother! on my heart,
Deeply print the wounds, the smart
Of my Saviour's chastisement;
He who, to redeem my loss,
Deigned to bleed upon the cross—
Make me share his punishment!

"Ever with thee, at thy side,
'Neath the Christ, the Crucified,
Mournful mother, let me be!
By the Cross sad vigil keeping,
Ever watchful, ever weeping,
Thy companion constantly!

"Maid of maidens, undefiled,
Mother gracious, mother mild,
Melt my heart to weep with thee!
Crown me with Christ's thorny wreath,
Make me consort of his death,
Sharer of his victory.

"Never from the mingled tide
Flowing still from Jesus' side,
May my lips, inebriate, turn;
And when, in the day of doom,
Lightning-like, he rends the tomb,
Shield, oh! shield me lest I burn!

"So the shadow of the tree
Where thy Jesus bled for me
Still shall be my fortalice;
So when flesh and spirit sever
Shall I live, thy boon, for ever
In the joys of Paradise!"

XV. Of Our Saviour's Descent into Hell or Hades.

[From the spurious 'Gospel of Nicodemus'—a forgery of the second or third century, supposed to be identical in great measure with the 'Acts of Pilate,' cited by the early Fathers; the name of Nicodemus was probably given to it by the Anglo-Saxons, who esteemed it canonical, and read it in their churches. See Beausobre, *Hist. Crit. du Manichéisme*, tom. i, p. 370, and Philo's *Codex Apocr. N. T.* tom. i, pp. cxviii *sqq.* and p. 487.[1]

[1] The portion here extracted is supposed to be older than the rest, and is attributed by Beausobre to the Gnostic or Docetan Leucius, mentioned in a former page. The baptism of the dead in Jordan is a proof, as he remarks, of its extreme antiquity. The belief of the necessity at least of baptism even for the dead is alluded to by Hermas, in his 'Pastor,' lib. 3, cap. 16; *Patres Apost.* t. i, p. 119, edit. Cotelerii. And the whole legend

The legend fills eleven chapters of the Gospel, from the seventeenth to the twenty-seventh. Joseph, we read, having buried the body of Jesus, the Jews imprisoned him, but Our Saviour appeared to him after his resurrection, and released and led him to Arimathea. The Jews, hearing of this, sent seven of Joseph's friends, with letters of safe conduct, entreating him to return; he did so, and was present while Annas and Caiaphas, with Nicodemus and others, examined the witnesses of Our Saviour's ascension. The narrative then proceeds as follows :—]

"CAP. XVII. And Joseph said, 'Why marvel ye that Jesus should rise? It is a greater marvel that he should have raised other of the dead, who have appeared to many in Jerusalem. And if ye know not them, at least ye know Simeon, who took Jesus in his arms, and Simeon's two sons, the brothers, whom also Jesus hath raised. For we buried them but a little while ago, and now their tombs are to be seen opened and void, but they are alive and dwelling in Arimathea.'

"They sent men therefore, and they found their sepulchres opened and void.

"And Joseph said, 'Let us go to Arimathea, and we shall find them there.'

"Then the chief priests, Annas and Caiaphas, arose, and Joseph, and Nicodemus, and Gamaliel, and others with them, and went out to Arimathea, and found the men whom Joseph had spoken of. And they entreated them, and they embraced each other, and then they came with them to Jerusalem. And they brought them into the synagogue, and shut to the doors, and placed the Old Testament of the Jews in the midst, and the chief priests said unto them, 'We adjure you by Adonai, the God of Israel, that ye declare to us the verity, how that ye have risen, and who hath raised you from the dead.' On hearing this, they who had risen made the sign of the cross on their foreheads, and said to the chief priests, 'Give us paper, and ink, and reeds.' Which things were brought. And, sitting down, each of them, apart, they wrote as follows :—

"CAP. XVIII. 'Lord Jesus Christ, the Resurrection and the Life of the world! give unto us grace, that we may declare thy resurrection and thy wonders that thou didst in Hades! For

may be supposed to have originated in the obscure allusions, *Ephes.* iv. 8, 9, and 1 *Peter* iii. 19,—compared with *Psalms* xvi. 10, xlix. 15, etc. It was not till the fifth century that the clause, "He descended into Hell," was introduced into the Apostles' Creed. The following translation is made from the Greek; the Latin version, although ancient, has been much and tastelessly interpolated.

we were in Hades, with all the rest of them that slept, and at the hour of midnight there arose on that darkness as it were the light of the sun, and it shone brightly, and we were all illumined, and we saw one another. And straightway our father Abraham, with the patriarchs and the prophets, filled with exultation and gladness, said to each other, "This is the light from the great enlightenment!" The prophet Isaiah, there present, said, "This is the light that proceedeth from the Father, and from the Son, and from the Holy Ghost, of which I prophesied while yet in the flesh, saying, 'The land of Zabulon and the land of Naphthali, the people sitting in darkness, have seen a great light.'"—Then came there forward, into the midst of them, a stranger, an ascetic from the wilderness, and the patriarchs said unto him, "Who art thou?" And he said, "I am John, the last (τέλος) of the prophets, who have made straight the way of the Son of God, and preached to the people repentance, to the remission of sins. And the Son of God came unto me, and seeing him from afar, I said to the people, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world!' And with my hand I baptized him in the river Jordan, and I beheld the Holy Ghost descending on him as it were a dove, and I heard the voice of God, the Father, saying, 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased!' And for this cause hath he sent me also unto you, that I may declare how that the only begotten Son of God is coming hither, that whosoever shall believe in him may be saved, but whosoever believeth not shall be damned. Wherefore I warn you all, that ye worship when ye see him, for now only is your time of repentance for your bowing down to idols in the upper world of vanity, and for whatever else wherein ye have sinned,—for from henceforth this will be impossible."

"CAP. XIX. 'Then Adam, the First-created and the Forefather, hearing John thus teaching those in Hades, spake unto his son, Seth, "My Son, I will that thou relate to the fathers of the race of men, and to the prophets, whither I sent thee, when I fell ill of my death-sickness." And Seth said, "Ye prophets and patriarchs, hearken! My father, Adam, the First-created, drawing near his ending, sent me to make supplication to God at the gate of paradise, that he would guide me by his angel to the Tree of Mercy, and that I might procure oil and anoint my father, that he might rise up from his sickness. Which indeed I did. And, after prayer, the angel of the Lord came

unto me and said, 'Seth, what seekest thou? the oil which raiseth up the sick rather than the tree which sheddeth that oil, for thy father's sickness? That oil is not to be obtained as yet. Depart hence, and say to thy father, that after five thousand five hundred years have been accomplished from the foundation of the world,[1] the Only Begotten Son of God will descend upon the earth, having put on Manhood, and He will anoint him with this oil of mercy, and will raise him up, and will wash both him and his posterity in water and fire, and heal them from all infirmity,—but for the present this hath become impossible.'"—Hearing these things, the patriarchs and prophets rejoiced greatly.

"CAP. XX. 'And in the midst of these rejoicings came Satan, the heir of darkness, and saith to Hades, "All-devouring and insatiate! hear my words. A certain Jesus, of the race of the Jews, calling himself the Son of God, but being a man—him, through my travail, the Jews have crucified. And now that he draws nigh to death, get thyself ready that we may secure him here. For I know that he is a man, and I have heard even himself saying, 'My soul is sorrowful even unto death.' He hath worked me much evil in the upper world, mingling among men; for wheresoever he found my servants he cast them out, and whomsoever I had made blind, lame, maimed and leprous, by his word alone he healed them. And many that I had brought down to the grave, he restored to life." Hades saith, "And is his power so great that he can do these things by his word alone? And being such, art thou able to withstand him? Me seemeth that, being such, no man could stand against him! And whereas thou hast heard him fearing death, he hath said this mockingly and to jeer thee, purposing to seize on thee with his hand of power. And woe, woe to thee through all eternity!"—"Tremblest thou thus," replied Satan, "All-devouring and insatiate! at hearing of our common enemy? I have not trembled! But I have roused up the Jews, and they have crucified him, and given him gall and vinegar to drink. Make ready therefore, to hold him fast at his coming."—Hades answered, "Heir of darkness, Son of Perdition, Diabolus! thou tellest me that he hath raised many

[1] This is in accordance with the more correct chronology as preserved in the Septuagint and the Samaritan versions of Genesis, and in Josephus, the existing Hebrew text having been intentionally vitiated. See Dr. Hales' 'Analysis of Chronology,' etc., tom. i, pp. 272 *sqq.*, and 293 *sqq.*, edit. 1830,

to life whom thou hast brought down to the grave, and by his word alone; how then and in what power shall he be constrained by us? I, indeed, not long since, drank down a certain dead man, by name Lazarus, and, after a little, some one from among the living, by the might of his word alone, updrew him from my maw. I trow it be this same Jesus, of whom thou speakest. If it in sooth be he, and he enter here, I fear greatly as regards the rest. For all whom I have swallowed up I feel stirring within me, and I writhe in my inmost entrails. And the fore-rescue of Lazarus seemeth to me no good sign, for, not as a dead man, but like an eagle he flew up from me, so promptly the earth cast him forth. Wherefore I adjure thee, for thy sake and for mine, that thou bring not this man hither, for I know that he cometh to raise up the whole of the dead, and I swear to thee by the darkness which is our portion, that if thou bring him, not one of the dead will be left remaining unto me."

"CAP. XXI. 'And while Satan and Hades thus communed together, there came a great voice, like thunder, saying, "Lift up your gates, ye princes! and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in!" And Hades, hearing it, said to Satan, "Go forth now, if thou art able, and make stand against him." And Satan went forth. Then Hades saith to his demons, "Make fast the gates of brass and the bolts of iron, and secure me the locks, and watch, all of you, standing on tiptoe, for if this man enter, woe betides us."

"'And hearing these things, the forefathers began to upbraid him, saying, "All-devouring and insatiate! open, that the King of Glory may come in!" And David, the prophet, saith, "Knowest thou not, blind one! that, while still in life, I prophesied these selfsame words, 'Lift up your gates, ye princes?'" And Isaiah said, "I too foresaw this, and wrote by the Spirit, 'The dead shall stand up, and those who are in the tombs shall be awakened.' And, 'Where is thy sting, O death? where, O grave! thy victory?'"

"'Then came again the voice saying, "Lift up your gates, ye princes! and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in!"

"'And Hades, hearing the voice the second time, answered, as one forsooth unwilling, "Who is this King of Glory?" And the angels of the Lord answered, "The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle."

"'And straightway, with that word, the brazen gates were broken and the bolts of iron torn asunder, and the bound in death were loosed from their chains, and we with them. And the King of Glory entered, in form even as a man, and all the dark places of Hades were lighted up.

"CAP. XXII. 'And straightway Hades cried out, "We are conquered—Woe unto us! But who art thou, that hast such power and privilege? And what art thou that comest hither without sin, small in seeming but excellent in power, the humble and the great, slave at once and master, soldier and king, wielding power over the dead and the living? Nailed to the cross—and yet the destroyer of our power? Truly thou art the Jesus, of whom the Archsatrap Satan spake to us, that by thy cross and death thou shouldest purchase the universe!"—Then the King of Glory, holding Satan by the head, delivered him to the angels and said, "Bind his hands, and feet, and neck and mouth with irons." And, giving him over to Hades, he said, "Receive, and keep him surely until my Second Advent."

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"CAP. XXIV. 'Then the King of Glory stretched out his right hand, and took the forefather, Adam, and raised him up, and turning to the rest also, he said, "Come with me, all of you, as many as have died by the wood which this man eat of,[1] for lo! I upraise ye all by the wood of the Cross!" After these things he brought them all forth. And the forefather, Adam, filled with exceeding joy, said, "I render thee thanks, O Lord! that thou hast brought me up from the depths of Hades!" Thus too said all the prophets and saints, "We thank thee, O Christ, Saviour of the World! that thou hast redeemed our life from corruption." And while they were saying these things, the Saviour blessed Adam in the forehead with the sign of the cross, and did the like to the patriarchs and the prophets, and the martyrs and forefathers, and taking them with him, he rose up out of Hades. And as he journeyed, the holy fathers, accompanying him, sang, "Praised be he who hath come in the name of the Lord! Hallelujah!"

"CAP. XXV. 'Journeying therefore, as in triumph, to Paradise, and holding Adam, he delivered him and all the rest to the Archangel Michael. And as they entered in, into the gate of

[1] There is an allusive fulness in the Greek word, ἥψατο, hardly to be expressed by translation.

Paradise, there met them two aged men, to whom the holy fathers said, "Who are ye, who have not seen death nor entered Hades, but dwell body and soul in Paradise?" And one of them, answering, said, "I am Enoch, who pleased God, and was taken by him; and this is Elijah, the Tishbite; and we are to live until the fulfilment of these present times, and then we are to be sent on the part of God to withstand Antichrist, and to be slain by him, and after three days to rise again, and to be caught up to meet the Lord in the clouds."

"CAP. XXVI. 'While they were saying these things, a mean man came forward, bearing a cross on his shoulders, to whom the holy fathers said, "Who art thou, that hast the semblance of a thief, and bearest a cross upon thy shoulders?" And he answered, "I was, as ye say, a thief and a robber in the world, and for this the Jews seized and delivered me to the death of the cross, together with our Lord Jesus Christ. But seeing the signs that were done as he hung on the cross, I called upon him and said, 'Lord, forget me not when thou comest into thy kingdom!' And immediately he said to me, 'Verily, verily, I say unto thee, this day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.' Bearing therefore my cross, I came to Paradise, and finding the Archangel Michael, I said to him, 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Crucified, hath sent me hither; lead me therefore into the gate of Eden.' And the flaming spear, knowing the sign of the cross, opened for me, and I entered. Then said to me the Archangel, 'Tarry here awhile, for Adam, the forefather of the race of men, cometh with the just, that they too may enter in.' And now, beholding you, I am come to meet you." And, hearing these things, the Saints cried all, with a loud voice, "Great is our Lord, and great is his power!"

"CAP. XXVII. 'All these things saw we and heard, being two brothers, who also were sent by Michael the Archangel, and commanded to announce the resurrection of the Lord, but first to go down into Jordan and be baptized, and we went down accordingly and were baptized, along with the rest of the dead that had risen.[1] And then we came to Jerusalem, and kept the feast of the resurrection. And now we depart,

[1] What a picture for the imagination, if not the canvas, this baptism of the dead—of course by night—in Jordan! Like that of the vision of the guardian host departing from the temple before the destruction of Jerusalem, dimly intimated by Josephus, and painted with such gorgeous splendour in the romance of 'Salathiel.'

for we may not abide here. And the love of the Father, and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and of the All Holy Spirit be with you all! Amen.'

"Having written these things and made fast the tablets, they gave the one to the High Priests, and the other to Joseph and Nicodemus, and incontinent vanished—to the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be honour, world without end." [1]

XVI. Of the Composition of the Apostles' Creed.

The Apostles are said to have pronounced the twelve articles of the Creed at their last meeting, in a grotto on Mount Olivet, previous to their dispersion to preach throughout the world. In allusion to this, they are frequently represented with scrolls, on which the articles they are held to have respectively contributed, are inscribed.

XVII. Of the Death and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

[From Peter de Natalibus and the 'Legenda Aurea,' or 'Golden Legend,'—but originally an invention of the Gnostics, and, there is reason to believe, of Leucius, in the second century. Beausobre, *Hist. Crit. du Manichéisme*, t. i, p. 393. S. Jerome appears to allude to it in his Epistle to Paula and Eustochium, 'De Assumptione Beatæ Mariæ.' *Opera*, t. v, col. 83, edit. Bened. Paris, 1706.]

"After the dispersion of the Apostles, the Blessed Virgin is

[1] A translation of this legend has been inserted at the close of the chivalric romance of 'Perceforest,'—where that hero, and his brother Gadifer, King of Scotland, Dardanon, one of the ancient kings of Britain, and others of remote generations, are all assembled in the Isle de Vie, the Insula Vitæ, or Isle of Wight—living on there till the news shall arrive of the atonement and the resurrection of the Saviour. The legend having been recited by one of their descendants who visits them with that purpose as a missionary, they quit the island—where death might not enter—wishing to die, death having become a blessing through faith. They find a boat and a mariner, who conveys them to an unknown shore, where they receive baptism, and their strength failing more and more, they are conveyed, in obedience to a voice from heaven, for several hours through a dark forest, which at last expands into a verdant glade, lighted by the moon, shining far more brilliantly than her wont, and where, as they arrive, five sepulchres of marble arise from the ground to receive them. They expire immediately, commending their souls to God, and are interred accordingly.—*La tres elegante, delicieuse, melliflue et tres-plaisante Hystoire du . . Roy Perceforest, Roy de la Grant Bretagne, etc.* tom. vi, fol. cxxii *sqq.* edit. 1531.

reported to have dwelt in her house, beside Mount Sion, and to have sedulously visited all the spots of her son's life and passion, so long as she lived. And she is reported to have lived twenty-four years after the ascension of Christ. And when, on a certain day, her heart burnt within her with longing for her son, so that she broke out into very abundant tears, the angel Gabriel stood beside her, and reverently saluted her, and told her, on the part of her son, that after three days she should depart from the flesh and reign with him for ever. And he gave her a branch of palm from Paradise, which he commanded should be borne before her bier. And the Virgin, rejoicing, gave thanks to God, and besought two boons of the angel, to wit, that her sons, the Apostles, might be assembled at her death, that she might die in their presence, and that they might accompany her to the tomb,—and secondly, that, in expiring, she might not behold Satan. And the angel promised her that these things should be. And the palm branch was green in the stem, but its leaves were like the morning star.

"And while John was preaching in Ephesus, behold it thundered, and a cloud caught him away and set him down at Mary's door, and entering in, Mary marvelled and wept for joy. And she told him how she had been sent for by the Lord, and that Christ had brought him to her, and she besought him to take charge of her burial, and to bear the palm branch before the bier.

"And while John was wishing for the presence of his brother Apostles, behold they were all transported in clouds from the places where they preached, and collected together before the door of Mary. To whom, while they gazed on each other, greatly astonished, John went forth and warned them of Mary's summons, admonishing them not to weep, nor let it be imputed to them that they who preached the resurrection feared death.

"And when the Virgin beheld the Apostles assembled round her, she blessed the Lord, and they sat around her, with lights burning, and watched till the third day.

"And towards nightfall, on the third day, Jesus came down with his hosts of saints and angels, and they ranged themselves before Mary's couch, and sweet hymns were heard at intervals till the middle of the night. And then Jesus called her softly, twice, that she should come to him; and she answered that

she was ready joyfully to yield the spirit to him. And thus her spirit quitted the body, and flew into the arms of her son. And she neither suffered pain, nor her body corruption.

"For the Lord commanded the Apostles that they should carry her body into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and place it in a new tomb that had been dug there, and watch three days beside it, till he should return.

"And straightway there surrounded her flowers of roses, which are the blessed company of martyrs, and lilies of the valley, which are the bands of angels, confessors and virgins.

"And the angels that had remained in heaven came down to meet the angels who ascended up from earth, and the latter answered and said, 'This is she who is beautiful among the daughters of Jerusalem, even as ye have seen her, full of grace and love!'

"And thus Mary's soul was received up into heaven, rejoicing, and was seated in the throne at the right hand of her Son. And the Apostles saw that her soul was such that no mortal tongue could express its whiteness.

"And when the body was laid on the bier, Peter and Paul uplifted it, and the other Apostles ranged themselves around it. And John bare the palm branch in front of it. And Peter began to sing, 'In exitu Israel de Egypto,' and the rest joined softly in the psalm. And the Lord covered the bier and the Apostles with a cloud, so that they might be heard, but not seen. And the angels were present, and singing with the Apostles. And all the city was gathered to that wondrous melody.

"And the Jews ran to arms, that they might seize and burn the body, and the High Priest put forth his hand to overthrow the bier, but his hand straightway withered, and the rest of the people were stricken with blindness. Then the High Priest besought Peter, who promised that if he confessed that Mary was the Mother of God, he should receive his sight. And he confessed it, and saw. And taking the palm branch, by command of Peter, he touched each man among the people, and such as believed on the Virgin received their sight, but such as believed not remained blind.

"And the Apostles laid the body of the Virgin in the tomb, and they watched beside it three days. And on the third day, the Lord appeared with a multitude of angels, and raised up Mary, and she was received, body and soul, into heaven."

According to some accounts the Apostle Thomas was not present at the Virgin's Assumption, and refused credence to the report of the Apostles, till the girdle of the Virgin, detached as she rose, descended upon him from the air in token of their truth. This, however, is treated as apocryphal even by the writers who record the preceding narrative. The incident is frequently introduced in paintings of the Assumption.[1] The girdle itself is said to be preserved at Prato, where its subsequent history forms the subject of a series of frescoes by Angelo Gaddi, a painter of the fourteenth century.—See *infra*, vol. ii, p. 84.

The series of the life of the Virgin generally concludes with her coronation by Our Saviour as Queen of Heaven,—a subject which is also very frequently represented separately. The identification of the Virgin with the "woman clothed with the sun," of the Apocalypse, chap. xii., and with the bride in Canticles—both of them, truly, significative of the Church—together with the transfer to her of the popular veneration for a female deity, whether Diana, Astarte, or Isis, universally current among the Southern nations, is the key to the whole mystery of her various representation in early art. Her Coronation, therefore, is a symbol of that of the Church, subsequently to the general Resurrection—and to this the accessaries introduced constantly refer.

XVIII. Of Simon Magus and S. Peter.

[Chiefly from the second book of the History of Normandy, by Ordericus Vitalis. Derived, originally, from the Gnostics, and from the 'Acts of Peter,' by Leucius. Beausobre, t. i, p. 395.]

"After long disputations in Cæsarea of Palestine and elsewhere, Simon betook himself to Rome, where, by his magical arts he persuaded the people that he was a God. After Peter's arrival there he persecuted him greatly, and frequently disputed against him, but Peter uniformly prevailed. During one of these disputes a widow passed by, accompanied by a

[1] S. Thomas was probably favoured thus on account of his peculiar zeal (as asserted) in preaching celibacy and virginity. His adventures at Adrianople and in India (Parthia that is to say, or Persia), may be read in the history of Normandy, by Ordericus Vitalis, alluded to in a preceding note. The legend is traceable, however, as usual, to the Gnostic Leucius, in the second century. See Beausobre, *Hist. Crit. etc.*, tom. i, p. 402. No great artist, so far as I am aware, has represented S. Thomas's history.

great crowd, carrying the body of her son to burial. And Peter proposed to Simon the resuscitation of the child, as the test of their respective truth. Simon consented, and exhorted the bystanders to burn Peter if he succeeded. He then, evoking his demons, succeeded in making the head of the child move, but nothing more. But Peter prayed, and in the name of Christ bade the child arise. And he did so, and all the people cried, 'The God of Peter is God!' And Simon endeavoured to escape, but the people seized and were about to burn him alive, when Peter interposed and delivered him saying, 'My master teacheth to return good for evil.'

"And after the arrival of Paul at Rome, Simon wrought much evil against the two Apostles, deceiving the people. For he made a serpent of brass that moved, and dogs of stone that barked, and statues of bronze that laughed and walked. But Peter and Paul, on the contrary, healed the sick, gave sight to the blind, cast out devils, and raised the dead. And Simon and his followers continually bare false witness and imputed evil to the Apostles. And these accusations coming to the ear of Nero, he summoned Simon before him,—who, by his magical art, continually changed his appearance as he stood before him, now appearing young, now old. So that Nero believed him the Son of God. And thus, repeating his calumnies against the Apostles, Nero sent for them. And they disputed with Simon in Nero's presence.

"And Peter besought the Emperor that a cake of bread might be brought and given him privately. Which was done, and Peter blessed it, and hid it under his sleeve, and called upon Simon, who boasted himself the Son of God, to declare what it was that he had just done? And Simon, furious in that he knew not the secret, called upon his familiars, and lo! there appeared fierce and monstrous dogs, whom he commanded to devour Peter before the eyes of Cæsar. But Peter, dropping on his knees as they leapt upon him, held forth the consecrated bread, and they vanished away. And thus Simon was confounded.

"And thereafter Simon gave out that he was about to quit the world and return to heaven. And Nero commanded that a lofty tower should be built of wood in the Campus Martius. And the Emperor, the Senate, and all the people of Rome assembled to see the magician fly to heaven. So Simon ascended the tower, with his brows crowned with laurel, and

commenced his flight through the air, sustained by devils. And Paul, meanwhile, kneeling before the multitude, prayed to the Lord, while Peter watched Simon. And after a little Peter said unto Paul, 'Paul, look up!'—And, seeing Simon ascending, Paul answered, 'Peter, it is time, why tarriest thou? Finish what thou hast begun.'—And Peter, gazing upwards, cried, 'Angels of Satan, I adjure ye, by God the Creator, and Jesus Christ, his Son, that ye leave hold of that impostor!' And immediately Simon fell to the ground, upon the way which is called the Via Sacra, and was taken up dead. And Paul and Peter gave thanks to the Lord."

XIX. Of the Origin, Invention, and Exaltation of the Cross; of the Conversion of Constantine and Helen, and of the Political Establishment of Christianity.

[Arranged and abridged from the 'Legenda Aurea,' and from the 'Catalogus Sanctorum' of Peter de Natalibus.]

1. *Of the Origin of the Cross.*

"It hath been told elsewhere how Adam, being sick, sent his son Seth to pray for him, at the gate of Paradise, for the oil of mercy, to anoint him and heal his sickness. But the archangel Michael appeared to him and said, that it might not be until five thousand five hundred years had been completed, and, in the meanwhile, he gave him a branch of the tree whereof Adam had eaten, bidding him plant it on Mount Lebanon, and that when it bore fruit his father should be healed. Seth therefore returned, and finding his father dead, he buried him, and planted that branch on his grave. And the branch took root and became a mighty tree, and flourished till the days of Solomon. And Solomon, admiring the beauty of this tree, commanded that it should be cut down, and used in building the house of the forest of Lebanon. But no fit place could be found for it, for either it exceeded or fell short in length, and if they attempted to adjust it by cutting, it appeared still either too short or too long, so as to be altogether unserviceable and useless. Wherefore the builders rejected and threw it aside into a certain marsh, that it might serve as

a bridge for those who passed over. But when the Queen of Sheba came to Jerusalem, to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and was about to cross the said marsh, she saw in the spirit how the Saviour of the world was to be suspended on that tree, and so would not walk over it, but forthwith adored it. Some indeed say, that the Queen saw the tree in the house of the forest, and that she informed Solomon that the man was to be suspended on it through whose death the kingdom of the Jews was to be blotted out. Solomon, therefore, had the tree buried in the deepest bowels of the earth. And in aftertimes the pool of Bethesda was there made, wherefore not only from the descent of the angel, but also from the virtue of the said tree, were the waters troubled and the infirm healed. And when the time of the passion drew near, the tree rose up and floated to the surface. And the Jews took it, and made of it a cross for our Lord. And after the Crucifixion the tree lay buried three hundred years."

2. *Of the Conversion of the Emperor Constantine.*

"And in the three hundred and thirty-third year of Our Lord, an innumerable multitude of barbarians were assembled on the banks of the River Danube, intending to cross the river, and subdue the world from West to East. And Constantine marched against them, and encamped on the hither side of the river. And they were to join battle on the morrow. Now Constantine was as yet a heathen.

"And in the night time he was aroused by an angel, who bade him look up. And he saw the sign of the cross in heaven, of most clear light, within a ring of golden letters, which ran thus, 'In hoc signo vinces!'—Who, being thus comforted, made the similitude of a cross, and commanded it to be carried in front of his army. And he marked his standards and his arms with the sign of the cross, and rushing on the enemy, he discomfited them, and slew a very great multitude of them.

"And returning to the city, he called together the priests of the idols, and enquired whose sign this was among the Gods. But they declaring themselves ignorant, certain Christians who were present expounded to him the mystery of the cross. And Constantine from thenceforth held Christ in reverence as one of the Gods, after the fashion of the Gentiles,

but as yet received not baptism, and still persecuted the Christians.[1]

"Wherefore God visited him with an incurable leprosy. And on consulting the priests, they prescribed for him a bath of the warm blood of three thousand infants.[2] But as he proceeded to the place where the bath was to be prepared, the mothers of the infants met him, with dishevelled hair, and wailing piteously. Which seeing, the Emperor abhorred the deed, and bidding his charioteer stop, he rose up in his chariot, and addressed the people in a very eloquent oration, showing how the dignity of the Roman Empire took its rise from the fountain of pity, and that it was a law that whoever should slay an infant in warfare should forfeit life, and that this law ought to be still more binding on Augustus,—and by many other reasons he persuaded the people that it was right for him to abstain from committing so great a crime. And while the people applauded, he gave back the infants to their mothers, with many fair gifts besides, and returned to his palace.

"And on the following night, the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul stood beside him in his dream, and said that they were sent to him by God, in guerdon of his having spared the innocent blood, and to counsel him for the recovery of his health,—and that he should send for Pope Sylvester, bishop of Rome, then hiding from his persecution in Mount Soracte, who would direct him to the one and only bath by which he might be washed clean of his leprosy.

"And Constantine, waking, sent messengers accordingly to Mount Soracte. And Sylvester, with his priests and companions, returned to Rome, believing it was to martyrdom. But Constantine received him graciously, and recounted his vision, enquiring who were the Gods that had appeared to him, and that are named Peter and Paul. And Sylvester

[1] Another legendary history assigns the vision to the night before the battle between Maxentius and Constantine, adding that Constantine, in going out to battle, carried a golden cross in his hand, and prayed that the victory might fall to him without staining that hand with Roman blood. Maxentius was accordingly drowned in spurring over the Milvian Bridge (the Ponte Molle), attempting to escape to Rome. This is the subject of the great fresco in the Hall of Constantine in the Vatican.

[2] "That Louis XI. drank children's blood to recover his health, is seriously stated by a commentator on Philip des Comines, on the authority of Gaguin, without any observation on the barbarity of the act." Quoted by Dr. Prichard, *Physical History of Mankind*, tom. ii, p. 157, from Salt's 'Travels in Abyssinia,' 4to, p. 307.—Goats' blood was sometimes prescribed for leprosy.

replied that they were no Gods, but Apostles of Christ, and sending his deacon for their images, he showed them to the Emperor. And when the Emperor looked upon them, he exclaimed that they were the same that he had seen in his dream, and demanded to be led forthwith to the bath of mercy in which he might be cleansed. Which Sylvester expounded to him to signify the bath of baptism, and diligently instructed him in the Christian faith, and, making him a catechumen for the present, prescribed him fasting, and admonished him to open the prisons. And on the evening of the Sabbath, he bade make ready the bath of the palace of the Lateran, and blessed the water, and baptized Constantine, in fullness of faith, and a wonderful light shone round about, and Constantine reascending clean in body and soul, bare witness that he had seen Our Saviour, who had commanded that He alone should be worshipped as the true God.

"And after this, Constantine built basilicas and churches, and gave up the palace of the Lateran to the Pope, and appointed the Church of Rome the mother of all churches, and honoured the Apostolic See with many privileges."

3. *Of the Conversion of the Empress Helen and the Political Establishment of Christianity.*

"And when Helen, the mother of Constantine, heard of these things, being then in Bithynia, she wrote letters, praising him that he had forsaken the worship of idols, but blaming him for passing by the God of the Jews to worship a man that had been crucified. For Helen had been newly converted to Judaism. Augustus wrote back, therefore, desiring her to come to Rome, and bring with her the doctors of the Jews, that they might dispute with the Christians, and that the truth might thus appear.

"Helen accordingly brought an hundred and forty of the most learned of the Jews, of whom twelve were, beyond the rest, illustrious for wisdom. Who met to dispute with Sylvester before the Emperor,—Crato and Xenophilus, two of the wisest and most just of the philosophers of the Gentiles, being appointed judges. And the names of the wise men of the Jews were Jonathan, Godolias, Anna, Doeth, Chusi, Benjamin, Aroel, Jubal, Athan, Sileon and Zambri. With whom Sylvester, by himself alone, disputing, proved the faith of Christ by

most evident reasons, and by the sentence of the judges marvellously confuted the Jews. And, by mutual consent, appealing to miracles, Zambri, the wise man, and who was also a magician, boasted that he knew the ineffable name of God, which no animal could hear and live. And a bull was brought in, so ferocious as scarcely to be held by an hundred men, and when Zambri whispered that name in his ear, roaring and with starting eyes, the bull fell down dead. And the Jews thereupon exulting over Sylvester, the holy man replied, that it was the name of a demon, not a deity, that destroyed life,[1] while that of the true God, the Incarnate Son, restored it even to the dead. Whereupon, invoking the name of Christ, he bade the bull arise,—and he did so, but with a changed nature, being now as tame and gentle as before he was violent and savage. And thus Sylvester converted the Queen, the Jews and the Judges, and a great multitude of the people, to the faith of Christ.

"And some time afterwards it came to the Emperor's ear that a dragon, dwelling in a certain cave, had, by favour of the devil, slain with his breath alone three hundred persons. And Sylvester, hearing this from the Emperor, made prayer to God, and offered himself to bind the dragon. And S. Peter appearing to him and instructing him what he should do, he descended into the cave where the dragon dwelt, followed by two priests only, bearing lanterns, and pronouncing the name of Christ, he bound the mouth of the dragon, hissing, with a thread, and shut him up till the day of judgment. And re-ascending, he found two Magicians who had followed him in hopes of detecting some imposture, stretched out and about to expire, being poisoned by the dragon's breath,—whom he brought out safe and well. And thereafter, the Emperor Constantine bestowed the province of Rome, with the whole city, upon the Church of God, and rebuilt Byzantium, changing its name to Constantinople, and transferred his Empire thither, and the blessed Sylvester remained in the city.[2]

[1] According to the Gnostics, the Jehovah or God of the Jews was the Evil Principle, as opposed to Our Saviour.

[2] The dragons of early tradition, whether aquatic or terrestrial, are not perhaps wholly to be regarded as fabulous. In the case of the former, the race may be supposed to have been perpetuated till the marshes or inland seas left by the deluge were dried up. Hence probably the legends of the Lernæan hydra, etc. As respects their terrestrial brethren (among whom the serpent, for example, which is said to have checked the army of Regulus

4. *Of the Invention of the Cross.*

"And after the disputation which Sylvester held with the Jews, and the conversion of Helen, mother of Constantine, to Christ, the Spirit infused into her the wish to discover the wood of the Cross of the Lord. Coming therefore to Jerusalem, with a great army, on the eighteenth day of the second month, which is April, she ordered all the wise men of the Jews, who could be found throughout the whole province, to be gathered together, to the number of five hundred; who, much fearing, sought anxiously among themselves what this could mean. And one of them, by name Judas, began to say that he doubted not but that she wished to learn from them where the Cross lay hid on which Jesus was crucified,—warning them that no one should presume to confess this, because, so soon as that cross should be found, the law of the Jews would be made void and done away. He said, moreover, that he knew the place where the Cross was hidden. For Zaccheus, his grandfather, had revealed it in confidence to his father Simon, and Simon, the father of the said Judas, had informed himself. And he added, that Zaccheus had said that when that wood should chance to be revealed, the race of the Jews should reign no more, but only they who adore the Crucified, and for this reason, that Christ was truly the Son of God, as he, Zaccheus, had clearly learnt,—for he had not consented to the conspiracy of the death of Christ, and had been the father of the protomartyr, Stephen. But the Jews declared that they had never heard these things before, and commanded Judas that he should on no account discover the wood of the Cross.

"And when they stood before the Queen, and she questioned them concerning the place where Jesus had been crucified, and they denied that they knew it, she commanded that they should all be burnt with fire. And, greatly terrified, they pointed out Judas, as the son of a just man, and a prophet, and well skilled in the law, saying that he would

for three days near the river Bagradas, in Numidia, will be at once remembered), their existence, testified as it is by the universal credence of antiquity, is not absolutely incredible. Lines of descent are constantly becoming extinct in animal genealogy, especially in the case of branches of a family transplanted in early and more congenial ages into regions remote from the parent domicile, and where the climate has gradually changed—to say nothing of the assiduity of man in rooting them out.

tell her all. And the Queen, sending away the rest, kept Judas only, and offered him death or life, according as he should discover the Cross of the Lord. Who asserted that he knew neither the Cross nor the place, for that three hundred years had now elapsed since the passion of Christ, at which time he had not been born. Helen therefore commanded him to be put into a well, and there tormented by hunger. And when he had remained six days without food, on the seventh day he sought to be taken out, and promised to discover the Cross. And he led them hastily to the place Golgotha, and while he prayed there, the place was suddenly shaken, and an aromatic odour, of wonderful sweetness, was perceived, so that Judas, marvelling, confessed and exclaimed, 'Verily, O Christ, thou art the Saviour of the World!'

"There was in that place, as is related in ecclesiastical story, a temple of Venus, which the Emperor Hadrian had built, in order that if any one should worship Christ on that spot he might appear to worship Venus. Wherefore this place was well nigh forgotten and out of mind. The Queen therefore had the temple destroyed and the foundations ploughed up.

"After this, Judas, with his companions, began to dig manfully, and at twenty feet below the surface they found three Crosses, which Judas presented to the Empress. And when they were unable to distinguish the Cross of Christ from the two pertaining to the robbers, and it was about the ninth hour, a certain dead man was carried past on a bier, and Judas stopped the bearers, and the first and the second Cross being laid upon the dead man, he did not move. But when they laid the Third, forthwith he that was dead returned to life. And a certain woman also, of the first in the city, was lying half dead, as is said in ecclesiastical story, to whom the Bishop of Jerusalem applied the first and second crosses, and it profited nothing, but the Third being laid upon her, immediately the woman rose up whole. This one, therefore, they understood to be the Cross of the Lord, as thereafter indeed was more fully known, when the title had been read which Pilate had placed over it, and which from its age had been almost obliterated. But the devil, emitting terrible wailings, in the hearing of all, complained grievously of Judas, and threatened him with torments and much persecution.

"After these things, Judas, being baptized, was named Cyriacus, and after the Bishop of Jerusalem died he was appointed Bishop in his place, by the command of Helen. For the Empress remained in Judea a long time, and visited all the holy places. And desiring to possess the Nails wherewith the Lord was crucified, she prayed the Bishop Cyriacus that he would go to the place and search for them. Who, when he had come and offered prayer, immediately the Nails appeared in the earth, shining like gold. Which Nails the Bishop delivered to the Queen, and she reverently adored them. And she had the Cross of the Lord cut through the middle, and part she carried away for her son, and part she left, enclosed in a silver shrine, at Jerusalem. And she carried away the Nails of the Lord with her, one of which she fixed in the helmet, the other on the bridle of the Emperor, that thus weaponed with the weapons of the Lord he might go safe into battle. And the third she reserved for herself, or, as some assert, threw it into the Adriatic, which till then was a whirlpool. And she appointed the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross to be solemnly celebrated every year through the whole world, namely on the fifteenth of the Nones of May."

5. *Of the Exaltation of the Cross.*

"And in the course of many seasons, as time flowed on, the Lord permitting his people to be scourged for their sins, Cosrhoes, King of the Persians, subdued all the kingdoms of the East to his dominion. But coming to Jerusalem, he fled terrified from the sepulchre of the Lord, yet he carried away the portion of the Lord's Cross, left there by Helen.[1] And willing to be worshipped of all as the only God, he built a tower of gold and silver with interlucent gems, and placed images therein of the sun and moon and stars, and made slender conduits to imitate the rain of God from heaven, and kept horses drawing chariots in a subterranean cave, to shake the tower and imitate thunder. And giving up the kingdom to his son, he himself dwelt in the tower, and placing the cross of the Lord near him, commanded himself to be called of all men King of Kings and Lord of Lords.

[1] See Gibbon, chap. 46, and Sir John Malcolm's 'Hist. of Persia,' tom. i. pp. 157 *sqq.* edit. 4to, for the struggle between Heraclius and Cosrhoes the Second, or Khosroo Purviz, grandson of Nushirvan—and for the groundwork of the legend.

"Then the most Christian Emperor Heraclius, with a mighty army, came to the river Danube, to fight against the son of Cosrhoes, and to recover the Cross. And the two princes agreed to fight in single combat on the bridge, and that he who should remain victor should dispose of the army of the other at his pleasure. And if any man, on either side, should presume to assist his prince, his arms and legs should be cut off, and he should be thrown into the river. Heraclius, therefore, commending himself devoutly to God and to the Cross, ever to be venerated, for which he fought, after a long combat, at last, by the blessing of Christ, obtained the victory and killed the son of Cosrhoes. And immediately the whole army of the Persians, as if by divine impulse, yielded itself to the Christian faith, and received holy baptism.

"But Cosrhoes knew not the event of the battle, for he was hated by every one on account of his pride, and no one cared to acquaint him with it. Wherefore Heraclius, ascending to the tower, came suddenly upon him, and found him sitting on his golden throne, and said to him that, forasmuch as he had honoured the Cross of Christ after his fashion, he should receive life and kingdom, holding it of the Empire, if he would accept baptism, but if not, that he would kill him instantly with the sword. And that infidel not acquiescing, Heraclius straightway beheaded him. But because he had been a king, and had after a manner honoured the Cross of Christ, he ordered him to be buried.

"And a son of Cosrhoes, whom he found with him, a lad of ten years old, Heraclius caused to be baptized, holding him at the font, and he gave him his father's kingdom. And destroying the tower he divided the silver as booty among his soldiers, but the gold and the gems he reserved for repairing the churches which the tyrant had destroyed.

"And so Heraclius carried the Cross of the Lord back to Jerusalem. But when, descending from the Mount of Olives, he offered to enter the city on his royal steed, and in imperial state, through the gate by which the Lord had entered before his passion, suddenly the stones of the gate descended and closed themselves up like a wall. And the angel of the Lord, holding the sign of the cross, appeared above the gate, and reproved the Emperor, saying, that when the Lord entered through that gate for his passion,—not in regal pomp but sitting on a mean ass, he left an ensample, not of pride but

of humility,—and thus saying, the angel disappeared. Then the Emperor, shedding tears, barefoot, and stripped to his shirt, took the Cross of the Lord, and carried it on his shoulders, like a servant, to the gate. And immediately the gate rising, gave them free admission. And the sweet odour that had departed from the day when the Cross had been removed from the tower of Cosrhoes, returned, and refreshed them all with its sweetness. And so the precious Cross was restored to its place. And the miracles of former time were renewed, —a dead man was raised, four paralytic were cured, ten afflicted with leprosy cleansed, fifteen blind restored to sight, and several devils cast out—and many others were healed of divers diseases. This Exaltation of the Cross took place on the sixteenth of the Calends of October, about the year of our Lord six hundred and twenty."

XX. Legends of Martyr Saints.

[Distinguishable from the Ascetic or Monastic class by a clearer recognition of the duties and spirit of Christianity, by a more cordial sympathy with common or secular life, by a more varied and brilliant imagery and incident, and, consequently, a closer approximation to polytheism.[1] The legends of S. James the Greater, of S. Cecilia, S. Catherine, S. George, of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus, of S. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins, and of S. Christopher, here subjoined, are among those most frequently represented by the early Christian artists. Others —as those of S. James the Less, S. Matthew, S. Andrew, S. Philip, S. Mark, S. Lawrence, S. Sebastian, SS. Cosmas and Damian, S. Nicholas, and others—will be incidentally narrated in the following pages.]

1. *Of S. James the Greater, Apostle and Martyr.*

[From Peter de Natalibus.]

"James the Apostle, who is styled the Greater, the brother of

[1] The two classes bear nearly the same relation to each other as the mythology of the Japhetan to the Sensual-Spiritualism or Mysticism of the Hamite tribes, — the former reflecting what may be called the Brahminical, the latter (although sharing many elements in common with it) the Buddhistical element of Southern Christianity, —while the Gnosticism of the early ages is to be traced in both, according to the two divisions of the sect, the Asiatic and the Egyptian, the latter of which, in acknowledging the inherent corruption of matter, rejected the coeternal and coequal evil principle of the Medo-Persians, and admitted the reality of the body of Our Saviour. But it is impossible, thus briefly and incidentally to appreciate these subtle distinctions.

John the Evangelist, after the ascension of Christ preached long throughout Judea and Samaria, and thereafter went to Spain, that he might sow the word of the Lord there also. But he profited little, gaining only nine disciples, two of whom he left there, to carry on the work of the ministry, and with the remaining seven returned to Judea.

"And as he preached Christ, a certain Magician, by name Hermogenes, leaguing with the Pharisees, sent his disciple Philetes to him, that he might convince him in dispute that his preaching was false. But when the Apostle, on the contrary, overcame him by argument, and did many miracles in his presence, Philetes returned to Hermogenes, bearing testimony to James's doctrine, and recounting his miracles, and confessing himself his convert. Whom Hermogenes, being angered, bound by magical art, so that he could not move. And Philetes sending word of this to James, the Apostle sent him a handkerchief, by touching which alone he was freed forthwith from the enchantment; and he hastened to the Apostle. Then Hermogenes sent devils to them, commanding that they should bring them both bound to him. And the devils came to James, wailing in the air, and saying, 'O James, Apostle of God! pity us, for we burn before our time, —for Hermogenes hath sent us to bring thee and Philetes to him, and the angel of God hath bound us with chains of fire, and grievously tormenteth us.' Whom the Apostle released, and commanded them to bring Hermogenes to him bound, but without hurting him. And the devils brought him to James bound, and with his hands tied behind him. And complaining of Hermogenes, that he had sent them to be tortured, they besought James that he would permit them to revenge their sufferings upon him. And when James asked them why they did not seize Philetes, who was standing by, they replied that they could not touch even the ant which might be crawling in his chamber. But James, willing, after the example of his master, to return good for evil, commanded Philetes to unbind Hermogenes, and give him liberty. Hermogenes stood confounded, and dared not depart, for he feared the wrath of the devils, lest they should slay him. But the Apostle gave him his staff, and he went home safe, and brought all his magical books to James, to be burnt. But the Apostle commanded them to be thrown into the sea, lest peradventure the smell of them should harm the unwary. Which being done,

Hermogenes returned to the Apostle, and besought his pardon, and grew greatly in the fear of God, insomuch that many marvels were done by him.

"And seeing these things, the Jews, moved with zeal, came to the Apostle, and reproached him for preaching Christ crucified. Who proved to them, by the Scriptures, the advent, passion, and resurrection of the Lord, and many of them believed. But Eleazar, the High Priest, raised a tumult among the people, and had James taken. And Jonah, the Scribe, put a rope round his neck, and, with a multitude of the Jews, dragged him before Herod Agrippa. And Herod, willing to please the Jews, commanded him to be beheaded. And as he was led to martyrdom, a certain paralytic man, lying by the roadside, called on him that he should heal him. Whom the Apostle, invoking the name of Christ, immediately healed. Which seeing, Jonah the Scribe, who held the rope, believed and confessed Christ, and was beheaded also. And thus the holy James received martyrdom. And his body now lies at Compostella.

"For after his decollation his disciples put the body into a ship by night, for fear of the Jews, and, embarking therein without mariners or steersmen, they committed themselves and the body of their master to the Providence of God. And an angel brought them to Gallicia in Spain, to the kingdom of Queen Lupa. And taking the body forth of the vessel, they laid it down on a large stone, which yielded to it like soft wax, and fitted itself marvellously to its reception, after the manner of a sarcophagus. And the disciples proceeding to the Queen, who was indeed Lupa, a wolf both by character and name, they told her how Christ had sent her the body of his Apostle, that whom she had rejected living, she might accept dead. And relating how they had sailed thither without mariners, they begged for a place wherein to give it burial.

"But the queen deceitfully directed them to the King of Spain, that they should seek his assent, as her superior lord. Who took and cast them into prison. But while he slept, the angel of the Lord released and set them free. And the king, hearing of it, sent soldiers after them to kill them. But, in crossing a bridge, the bridge broke and the soldiers were drowned in the river. And the King trembled, and sent for them to return in peace, and received the faith of Christ to-

gether with his people, and granted to them freely whatsoever they required.

"And Lupa, hearing these things, was grieved; and when the Saints returned, and brought the King's consent by letter, she answered that they might take the oxen that she kept on a certain mountain (naming it), and yoke them to a wain, and carry the body of their master whither they would, and bury it. And this she said guilefully, because a vast dragon, vomiting flames, guarded those oxen, and the oxen were wild and unbroken, nor had ever submitted to the yoke, and if yoked, she believed they would fly hither and thither, and tear the body of the Apostle to pieces. But the disciples, unsuspecting the deceit, ascended the mountain, and when the dragon menaced them, breathing out fire, they shewed him the sign of the cross, and he clove asunder in the midst. And they yoked the oxen to the wain, as tame as lambs, and they placed the body of James upon it, with the stone on which he had been laid. And the oxen, no man guiding them, drew the body into the midst of Queen Lupa's palace, and seeing it she believed, and became a Christian, and granted all they desired of her, and gave her palace as a church for the holy body, and endowed it richly, and the body now lies there, resplendent with innumerable miracles."[1]

2. *Of S. Cecilia, Virgin and Martyr.*

[From Peter de Natalibus.]

"Cecilia, Virgin and Martyr, suffered at Rome under Almachius, prefect of the city, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius

[1] The most noted of these miracles are the two celebrated by Southey in his ballad of the 'Pilgrim to Compostella,' and which have been the subject of many excellent frescoes by the old Italian masters. Three pious pilgrims, a father and mother with their son, a very handsome youth, were travelling to Compostella, and halted for the night at a village about three months' journey short of the shrine. The daughter of their host, enamoured of the youth's beauty, acted towards him as Potiphar's wife towards Joseph, and receiving a similar repulse, secreted her father's drinking cup in his baggage, and complained to her father after the family had departed that the cup was missing. The pilgrims were pursued forthwith, and the cup being found in the baggage of the youth, he was taken before the Alcayde and summarily condemned to death. They hanged him on a gibbet at some little distance from the village. He sub-

and Commodus, Emperors,—being born of a most noble house among the Romans, and instructed from the cradle in the faith of Christ, and she carried the Gospel always hidden in her bosom, and never ceased from divine colloquy and prayer; and she composed hymns to the glory of God, which she sang so sweetly that the angels came down from heaven to hear them, and to sing along with her. And she prayed earnestly of Christ that she might preserve her virginity. And being espoused to a certain youth, by name Valerian, and the day being appointed for their nuptials, Cecilia, wearing sackcloth next the skin under her cloth of gold, and singing to God in her heart while music pealed around her, commended her soul to God in fasting and prayer.

"And on her marriage night she addressed her husband, and told him that she had an angel as her lover, who jealously guarded her, and would slay him if he approached her, but that if he were willing to love her in purity, the angel would reveal himself unto him. And Valerian bade her shew him the angel, for if he were indeed from God, he would do as she desired. And Cecilia promised that if he would believe in One God, and be purified,[1] he should see the angel, and she bade him go to the third milestone on the Appian Way, and salute in her name certain poor men whom he should find there, and require them to lead him to Pope Urban, who would instruct and purify him. And the poor men accordingly conducted Valerian to Pope Urban, then concealed in the catacombs. And telling Urban what Cecilia had said to him,

mitted with resignation, and his parents went on to perform their vows at Compostella. Passing through the same village on their return, the mother expressed a desire to see the remains of her son, and, on approaching the spot, was astonished to see him alive and well,—and he spoke to her, and declared that Sant' Iago had supported him during her absence, so that he had suffered nothing. The father and mother went immediately to the Alcayde, who was just sitting down to dinner, with two fowls, a Cock and a Hen, in the dish before him. "A miracle, a miracle," cried the mother, "My son lives!" "Nonsense, good woman," said the Alcayde, "your son is as much alive as these two fowls are alive." Whereupon the Cock and the Hen immediately rose up in the dish, alive and well; the Hen chuckled, and the Cock clapped his wings and crowed aloud. The Alcayde immediately repaired to the gibbet, followed by the whole inhabitants of the village, and took the youth down, and they found him as fresh and ruddy as if he had been feasting instead of fasting and hanging there during the last six months. And the pilgrims departed, all three together, rejoicing. For the holy and edifying life led by the Cock and Hen thereafter, and by all their posterity, the reader may refer to Southey's ballad.

[1] That is, by baptism.

he lifted up his hands and blessed the Lord. And behold an aged man appeared to them, in white raiment, holding a book on which was written 'One Lord, One faith, One baptism,' and asking whether he believed this, and Valerian answering 'Yes,' the old man disappeared. And Valerian received baptism from Pope Urban.

"And, returning home, he found Cecilia in her chamber, conversing with a glittering angel. And falling to the ground in great terror, the angel raised him up and comforted him. And he held in his hand two crowns of roses and lilies, and he gave one of them to Cecilia, and the other to Valerian, telling them they were brought from the Paradise of God, and bidding them guard them carefully and undefiledly. He desired Valerian, moreover, to ask any boon whatsoever, and God would grant it him. And Valerian answering that he had an only brother, Tiburtius, who was very dear to him, and that he earnestly desired that he too might be brought to the knowledge of the truth, the angel promised that not only should he believe, but that they should both attain to the Lord through the crown of martyrdom.

"And on the morrow, when Tiburtius came to salute his sister-in-law Cecilia, he perceived an excellent odour of lilies and roses, and asked her, wondering, whence she had untimely roses in the winter season? And Valerian answered, that God had sent them crowns of roses and lilies, but that he could not see them till his eyes were opened and his body purified,—and added that an angel had taught them these things, and that he too might see him if he would believe in Christ and renounce idols. And he preached Christ to him, and Tiburtius believed, and Valerian brought him to Pope Urban to be baptized.

"And the two brothers abounding thereafter in almsgiving, and burying the bodies of those whom the prefect Almachius put to death, they were seized, and brought before him, and martyred for the name of Christ. And Cecilia was also seized, as the wife of Valerian, and commanded to sacrifice, but refusing to do so, Almachius commanded her to be taken to her own house and burnt in the fire that heated the bath. But after having been in the fire for a day and a night it had no effect upon her. And then he commanded her to be beheaded in the bath. And the executioner having struck her neck thrice, ineffectually, was obliged to desist, it being

against the law to strike a criminal a fourth time. And, lingering on till the third day, she distributed all her goods to the poor, and commended her jailors and executioners, all of whom had been converted during her sufferings, to the bishop Urban. And at length she departed, and Urban buried her, and consecrated her house as a church."

3. *Of S. Catherine, Virgin and Martyr.*

[From Peter de Natalibus.]

"CATHERINE, Virgin and Martyr, suffered at Alexandria under Maxentius the Emperor. She was the only child of her father Costus, King of Alexandria, who left her at his death his successor in the kingdom, when not quite yet seventeen years of age, and very beautiful, and trained in all the learning of the Gentiles. And when a certain prince named Maximus sought her in marriage, and her mother urged her to consent, she proudly refused, saying, that she would take no one as her husband unless as noble, as beautiful, as rich and as wise as herself. But Maximus threatening to invade the city unless her mother gave her up to him, she besought her daughter to seek counsel of a certain Christian hermit, famous for wisdom and prudence, who dwelt without the city,—and she did this, hoping (being a Christian) that her daughter might either be persuaded by him to marriage, or else converted to the faith. For Catherine, devoted to the study of the philosophers, despised Christ, nor would hearken to aught concerning him from her mother.

"When, therefore, the mother and daughter came to the hermit, and at the entreaty of the former he urged Catherine to marriage, and she replied to him as she had done to her mother, the hermit, divinely inspired, promised her a spouse, not indeed her equal, but excelling in all things both herself and any other created being. And the maiden desiring to behold him, he gave her a painted tablet representing the blessed Virgin and her son, telling her it was the image of her spouse and of his mother, to whom devoutly making supplication, her spouse would permit himself to be seen of her. And Catherine, returning home, prayed that night before the picture, and fell asleep, and saw in her dream Christ, with his mother the Virgin, beautiful beyond all

imaginable beauty. But when the Mother of God offered Catherine to him as his spouse, he refused her, declaring she was not beautiful. And the maiden hearing this, and already smitten with love of her spouse, was grieved as if to death, and when it was morning, she called her mother, and went back to the hermit, and declared all she had seen. Whom the hermit instructed more fully concerning the faith of Christ, and baptized her, converted to the truth, and promised her that she should now be immeasurably acceptable to her spouse. And Catherine having returned, and fallen asleep prostrate before the image, the Virgin reappeared with her child, more brilliant than the sun, and with a company of angels. And Mary offered her again as a spouse to Christ, and Christ accepted her, as beautiful and full of grace, and purified,—and he plighted troth to her with a celestial ring. And Catherine, awaking, found the ring on her finger, and she showed it to her mother, rejoicing, and declared what she had seen, and from henceforth, kindled with the love of Christ, she began to despise the pomps of the world. And she dwelt in her palace till her mother departed this life.

"But when the Emperor Maxentius had summoned all, both rich and poor, to Alexandria, to sacrifice to idols, and was punishing the Christians who refused to do so, Catherine, in her palace, hearing the howlings of the wild beasts and the applause of the bystanders, sent messengers to enquire what this might mean. And hearing what was going on, she took some of her people, and fortifying herself with the sign of the cross, she went to the temple. And she saw many Christians sacrificing through fear of death. And, grieved to the heart, she came boldly forward before the Emperor, and made him no reverence, but reproved him for his folly and wickedness, showing that God, the Creator of heaven and earth and of all living, is the true God, and that Christ is his incarnate Son, and that he suffered and rose again, and ascended into heaven. And thus disputing, with much wisdom, Cæsar, astonished and unable to reply, commanded that she should be conveyed to the palace and guarded heedfully, admiring her wisdom and her beauty.[1]

[1] "Vergin' era fra lor di già matura
Verginità, d' alti pensieri e regi,
D' alta beltà . . . . . .
S' ode l' annunzio intanto, e che s'appresta
Miserabile strage al popol loro . . .

"And returning to the palace, after the sacrifices were ended, he asked her of her parentage. And she replied that she was the daughter of King Costus, born in the purple and trained in all liberal learning, but that she had despised all for Christ, and that the Gods whom the Emperor worshipped could neither aid him nor others. And arguing long, with examples from the poets and reasons from the philosophers, she confuted the Gods of the Gentiles.

"Wherefore Cæsar sent letters, commanding that all the rhetoricians and philosophers from the surrounding countries should hasten to Alexandria. Fifty doctors, therefore, thus came together, who excelled all men in this world's wisdom. And hearing wherefore they were summoned, they thought scorn of it, that they should be thus opposed against a girl. But Catherine commended herself to the Lord. Whom an angel comforted in Christ, and admonished her to stand firm, since not only should she not be vanquished in this contest, but her adversaries too were destined to conversion and the palm of martyrdom. When therefore she was brought before the doctors, and had most wisely disputed with them, and shewed openly that the Gods were devils, astonished and having nothing to reply, they were reduced to silence. Then the Emperor, filled with fury, reproached them that they permitted themselves to be conquered so disgracefully by a weak maiden, and one of them answered, that although no man was wise enough to stand before them, yet the Spirit of God spoke by Catherine, and they could say nothing against Christ. And all of them confessing this, the Emperor commanded them to be burnt alive in the midst of the city.

"After these things, the Emperor began to persuade the virgin of Christ to sacrifice, promising her that she should be called second in the palace, after the queen, and that an image should be made of her, and she should be venerated of

Mirata da ciascun passa, e non mira,
L' altera donna, e innanzi al re sen viene;
Nè, perchè irato il veggia, il piè ritira,
Ma il fero aspetto intrepido sostiene . . . .
All' onesta baldanza, all' improvviso
Folgorar di bellezze altere e sante,
Quasi confuso il re, quasi conquiso,
Frenò lo sdegno, e placò il fier sembiante."

Gerus. Lib. Canto 2.

The whole scene of Sofronia's interposition would appear to have been suggested by this legend.

all as a Goddess. And answering that he ought to refrain from uttering such wickedness, and that she adored Christ the Lord, the Emperor commanded her to be scourged and kept seven days in a dark dungeon, without food. And leaving Alexandria for that interval, the Queen Faustina, his wife, touched with pity, bribed Catherine's gaolers with the assistance of Porphyrius, captain of the host, and came by night to the prison. And they found it shining with a marvellous light, and the angels were anointing the wounds of Catherine. And Catherine preached to them eternal happiness, and having converted them, predicted that they also should wear the crown of martyrdom. And with Porphyrius, two hundred of his soldiers believed. Meanwhile Christ refreshed the virgin with celestial food, sending it by a dove from heaven, and he appeared to her with a multitude of angels and virgins, and exhorted her to be constant and of good courage.

"And the Emperor, returning, sent for Catherine, and finding her blooming in beauty, whom he thought to see wasted with hunger, he was about to put her keepers to the torture, as thinking they had ministered to her. But she declared how she had been fed from heaven by Christ. And the Emperor again exhorting her to sacrifice, and she still refusing, a certain prefect advised that within three days four wheels, set round with saws and blades of iron, should be made ready, and that Catherine's limbs should thus be dissevered, and the other Christians intimidated. And this machine was prepared accordingly, and the people assembled to behold her martyrdom. Then the virgin besought the Lord that he should destroy that engine to the conversion of the bystanders. And behold, the angel of the Lord struck and broke it to pieces, and in doing so, slew four thousand of the Gentiles. By which miracle a multitude of pagans were converted.

"And the Queen Faustina, who had till then concealed her faith, came down, and reproved the Emperor for such cruelty. For which being seized, and discovered to be a Christian, she too was martyred. And after Porphyrius had buried the body of the Queen, he and his two hundred soldiers confessed themselves Christians, and by the Emperor's order, they were all beheaded.

"Then the Emperor, calling Catherine, gave her her choice, either to sacrifice instantly to the Gods, or to lose

her head, and she refusing to sacrifice, he commanded her to be beheaded. And being led to execution, she prayed, with tears, that Christ would hearken for her sake to all who should invoke her in any distress. And a voice from heaven answered, that the gate of heaven was open for her, and that her prayer was granted. And being beheaded, milk flowed from her veins instead of blood. And her body was carried away by angels, and transported to Mount Sinai, and was there buried. And oil flows ceaselessly from her tomb, which hath virtue to make whole the limbs of the sick."

4. *Of S. George the Martyr.*

[From Peter de Natalibus.]

"S. George the Martyr, born in a city of Cappadocia, and from infancy a Christian, was a military tribune in the time of the Emperors Diocletian and Maximian. There was at that time, in the province of Lybia, by the city Lysia, a marsh in extent like a sea, in which there dwelt an enormous dragon, which discomfited and put to flight all who attacked it, and approaching the walls of the city, destroyed many with its breath. Wherefore the citizens were compelled to give it two sheep daily to appease its fury. But when the sheep began to fail, they gave a sheep and a man together, and thereafter casting lots, they gave it their sons and daughters, and the lot excepted no one. And after nearly all the children of the citizens had been devoured, the lot fell upon the King's only daughter, and she was adjudged to the dragon. And King Zevius offered the people abundance of silver and gold if they would spare his daughter, but they answered furiously, that their children were dead, and that he himself had made the law and must abide by it, and that, if he withheld his daughter, they would burn him in his palace, with his whole family. And after much entreaty the King obtained from them the space of eight days, wherein to bewail his daughter. And on the eighth day, finding no remedy, he delivered her, clad in her royal robes, to the people, and they exposed her to the dragon. And all the people looked on from the summit of the walls.

"And S. George, passing by that way, beheld her weeping, and asked of her what she wept for. And she told him all, and admonished him that he should fly swiftly, lest he also should perish with her. Whom the holy warrior exhorted to

take courage, and he offered himself as her champion to do battle with the dragon in the name of Christ. But she on the other hand entreated him to depart, for that she was unwilling he should be perilled with her.

"While they thus spoke, behold, the dragon raised his head above the lake, and S. George straightway mounted his horse, and couching his lance, commending himself to God, and fortified with the sign of the cross, he attacked that monster, and wounded him sore, and cast him to the earth. Then drawing his sword, he cut off his head with a single blow.

"And the people witnessing so great a miracle, believed in Christ at S. George's preaching, and ten thousand of them were baptized, besides women and children. And the King built a church of wonderful magnitude to the honour of the Mother of God, from whose altar a fountain issues of living water, of great virtue in healing the sick. Moreover he offered the Saint much money, which he would not accept for himself, but gave it to the poor. And after diligently admonishing the King and the people, he departed thence.

"And while the blessed George served as military tribune in the city Militeria, one Dacian, the governor, greatly persecuted the Christians. And George distributed all his possessions to the poor, and laying aside his military robe, he put on that of the Christians, and presenting himself to the governor, he proclaimed all the Gods of the heathen to be devils. And when the Governor found him constant in the faith of Christ, and could not incline him otherwise, he commanded him to be beaten with staves, and to be stretched on a wooden horse, and his body to be torn with nails, and salt to be rubbed into the wounds, and so to be thrust into prison, where the Lord Jesus Christ appeared to him and closed his wounds. And when, on the morrow, Dacian perceived this, he called for a magician, who should overmatch George in magical arts. And he mingled deadly poison with wine, and George, making the sign of the cross, drank thereof, and was nowise harmed. And this he likewise did a second time. And the magician seeing this, besought his forgiveness, and believed in Christ, and was put to death by the Governor.

"Thereafter Dacian commanded S. George to be fastened to a wheel studded on every side with sharp swords; but praying to God, the wheel was broken, and he was found

unhurt. Which when a certain master of the horse, by name Magnentius, saw, he believed, and others of his company. Whom Dacian ordered to be beheaded. And he shut S. George up again in prison. And a certain widow brought him her son, who was blind and deaf, and dumb, and lame, and the Saint healed him in the name of Christ, and converted him and his mother, and many others. And Dacian hearing of it, sent for him again, and exhorted him to sacrifice. To which S. George answered, that if the whole people would meet together, he would go to the temple of Apollo, and test his omnipotence before the multitude. And the holy martyr, entering the temple, commanded Apollo that he should proclaim what sort of a God he was. Who declared that he and all the Gods of the Gentiles were devils, studious to deceive the souls of men and plunge them into hell. And suddenly fire fell from heaven, and consumed all the idols, with the priests. Then the governor ordered a caldron to be brought, full of melted pitch and sulphur, and S. George to be cast in. But the angel of God descended from heaven and extinguished the fire, and cooled the caldron, and the holy martyr remained unhurt. Which seeing, Alexandria, the wife of the governor, believed in Christ, and reproved her husband for his impiety. Who ordered her to be hung up by the hair and scourged. And she expired under the scourging. And on the following day, the governor commanded S. George to be dragged through the whole city by a bridle, passed through his mouth, and then to be taken out of the city and beheaded. Which was done. And Dacian as he returned home, was consumed by fire from heaven, and his ministers with him."[1]

5. *Of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.*

[From Peter de Natalibus.]

"The Seven Sleepers were born at Ephesus, of the noblest in that city, and their names were Maximian, Martinian, Dionysius, Joannes, Serapion, Constantine, and Malchus.

[1] "Now in the picture of this Saint and Soldier, might be implied the Christian Soldier and true Champion of Christ,—a horseman, armed cap-a-piè, intimating the *panoplia* or complete armour of a Christian combating with the dragon, that is, with the devil, in defence of the King's daughter, that is, the Church of God."—*Sir Thomas Browne, Vulgar Errors*, book v, chap. 17.

And they sleep still in Mount Celius near the said city of Ephesus, incorrupt in body and in raiment.

"When the Emperor Decius, the persecutor of the Christians, came to Ephesus, these brethren, being Christians, concealed themselves in a cave, until he should depart, and Malchus brought them food daily, visiting the city disguised as a physician. But hearing that Decius had enquired after them, that they should sacrifice, they were greatly affrighted, and prayed to God, exhorting each other to constancy in the faith. And as God willed it, they fell asleep.

"And Decius, unable to discover the retreat of the seven brethren, sent for their parents, and being informed where they had concealed themselves, he commanded the mouth of the cave to be sealed up with stones, that they might perish with hunger. And this was done. And Decius died, and all that generation. But the Seven Sleepers slept sweetly on, in their cave.

"And one hundred and ninety-six years thereafter, in the days of Theodosius the younger, the heresy gaining ground of those who deny the resurrection of the dead, the Emperor was much grieved, and prayed unto the Lord in dust and ashes, that he would interfere to check it. Wherefore the merciful God put it into the heart of a certain burgess of Ephesus to build in that place a stable for his shepherds. And the stones being thus removed from before the mouth of the cave, the Sleepers awoke, and saluted each other, thinking they had only slept one night, and remembering their sorrow of yesterday, they mutually exhorted each other to martyrdom. And they bade Malchus go down to the city and purchase bread, and discover what new thing Decius had done. And Malchus, putting on his physician's dress, took five pieces of money and went forth of the cave, and timidly drew nigh to the city, and beheld with astonishment the sign of the cross erected upon the gate, and the city changed in aspect. And going from gate to gate, he found everything different from what it had been before, and so returned to the first gate, thinking he was dreaming. And entering at last, with a beating heart, he heard men speaking aloud concerning Christ, and being sore perplexed, and hearing from others of whom he enquired that the city was really Ephesus, although so changed, he knew not what to think, and well nigh determined to return straightway to his companions. Finding, however,

the bakers' street, he bought bread, and offering his money, the bakers marvelled, and shewed to each other the strange coin, and concluded that he had found a treasure. And seeing them thus conversing together, he thought they were about to denounce him to the Emperor, and besought them to keep both bread and money, and let him go. And asking him where he had found this treasure of the old Emperors, and he denying that he had found any, they put a rope round about his neck, and dragged him into the midst of the city. And the rumour being spread that a youth had found a treasure, all the city was gathered together. But Malchus saw no one of his acquaintance; all were strangers.

"And the Bishop Marinus, and the Proconsul, hearing these things, ordered him to be brought before them. And Malchus thought that he was about to be led to the Emperor. And the Bishop and the Proconsul enquired where he had found that ancient money. And he replied, nowhere, for that he had received it from his parents. And being asked what city he belonged to, he said 'To this—if this be Ephesus.' And being demanded the name of his parents, that they might testify to him, and naming them, no one knew of such persons, and they thought he said this in evasion, and to deceive them. And the Proconsul said that the money could not have belonged to his parents, as the superscription was of two hundred years past; and he commanded him to be examined by torture till he should confess the truth. Then Malchus besought them in the name of God, that they should tell him where the Emperor Decius was. The Bishop answered that the Emperor was not named Decius, nor had any emperor borne that name for many generations. And Malchus stood as one stupified, and then, recollecting himself, recounted how he and his brethren had concealed themselves from the fury of Decius in a cave, and how on the preceding evening Decius had entered that very city to persecute the Christians—if, indeed, as he repeated, this was Ephesus. And he offered to conduct the Bishop to the cave where his brethren awaited his return. Then the Bishop perceived that this was a revelation from God, and rising up, he, with the Proconsul and the whole people of Ephesus, accompanied Malchus to the Mons Celius, and entering in, they found the Saints seated in the cave, their faces glowing like roses, and their bodies and raiment incorrupt and fresh as if they had but

slept a night. And this thing being reported to the Emperor Theodosius, being then at Ephesus, he came hastily to the spot, and entering the cave, embraced the youths and wept for joy. And they told him that God had raised them up to bear witness to the resurrection of the dead. For that as an infant in his mother's womb is unconscious and yet lives, so they had slept unconsciously and yet alive. And thus having spoken, they bowed their heads, and fell asleep again even as before. And the Emperor kissed and wept over them. And he commanded golden coffins to be made for them. But they appeared to him the following night, and bade him leave them in the cave, even as they were, to slumber on till God should raise them up at the resurrection of the just. And they lie there to this day."

6. *Of S. Ursula and the Eleven Thousand Virgins.*

[From Peter de Natalibus.]

"The Eleven Thousand Virgins suffered at Cologne, under Julian, prince of the Huns. Whose leader and instructress was the blessed Ursula, a maiden of wondrous wisdom and excelling beauty, the only daughter of the most Christian Maurus, King of Scotland. To whom the King of England sent ambassadors, requesting her in marriage for his son Etherius, offering many promises, if she should be yielded, and many threats, should she be withheld. But King Maurus was greatly troubled, for on the one hand he dreaded the displeasure of the King of England, and, on the other, he feared to offend God by giving his daughter to a Gentile, or by marrying her at all, as she had vowed her virginity to the Lord.

"But, in this strait, the virgin of God, admonished from above, exhorted her father to consent to the proposal, but on the condition that Etherius, her intended husband, should be baptized and instructed in the faith for three years, and that ten fair and chosen virgins should be given her by her father-in-law and himself jointly, as companions, and that eleven thousand more should be gathered from all countries, a thousand namely for each of the eleven, and that eleven ships, well provided in everything, should be built for their use, in which, during those three years, they might sail and sport

over the sea, and dedicate their virginity to the Lord. And this the holy Ursula required, that during the time foresaid, she might consecrate those virgins to Christ, and bring her spouse and his people to the faith. Which the prince Etherius and his parents consenting to, the youth received baptism, and the ships were immediately built, and all things prepared with great festivity, and the virgins were collected from different parts of the world, and presented to Ursula, and her father provided her an honourable convoy of many bishops and barons of England and Scotland, together with all things needful in abundance. And many came from different and distant regions to behold that fair spectacle. Among whom was Panthulus, bishop of Basle, who afterwards escorted them to Rome, and returning with them, suffered martyrdom,—and S. Gerasima, queen of Sicily, and sister of the mother of Ursula, who had converted her husband, and came with her four daughters and her little son Hadrian, leaving her kingdom under the government of his elder brother.

"And so for three years Ursula and her virgins wandered over the seas, untroubled by storm and tempest, the power of God protecting and guiding them—sporting and solacing themselves, now simulating battle, now flight—filling the air with their sweet singing, and passing their days in harmony and love. And after Ursula had at length converted all those virgins to Christ, in one day's space, with a fair wind, they came to a port of Gaul which is called Ceila, and thence ascended to Cologne, where the angel of the Lord appeared to Ursula, and predicted that they should all return thither, to receive martyrdom. And proceeding to Basle, they quitted their ships, and journeyed on foot to Rome. And the Pope, Cyriacus, received them joyfully, for he too was from Britain, and had many kindred among them, and he baptized such as had not yet been purified. And it was revealed to him in a dream that he should resign the pontificate and return along with them, to receive martyrdom. Wherefore the clerk erased his name from among the roll of Popes. And Vincent, the Cardinal, and many others, associated themselves with that gentle company.

"But two wicked men, Maximian and Africanus, princes of the Roman army, seeing every one flocking to Christ, sent letters to Julian, their kinsman, the prince of the Huns, that he should march against Cologne, where those virgins would

be. (And James, bishop of Antioch, a native of Britain, returned with them, and the bishop of Lucca, and many others. And Etherius, King of England, Ursula's husband, his father being dead although after baptism, and his mothers and sisters having also been converted, had come to meet her at Rome.) And thus they returned together to Cologne, and found the city besieged by the Huns. And those barbarians rushing upon them, like wolves on sheep, slew all those virgins with the sword, and they received the crown of martyrdom. But seeing the beauty of Ursula, they drew back and spared her, and brought her to Julian. And refusing to marry him or to sacrifice to idols, seeing himself contemned, he bade them slay her with an arrow, and so she departed to the Lord. And a certain virgin, by name Corbula, had hidden herself in a ship that night, but on the morrow, offering herself to death, she also received martyrdom. These virgins suffered on the twelfth of the Calends of November, about the year of Christ four hundred and fifty."

7. *Of S. Christopher, the Martyr.*

[From Peter de Natalibus.]

"CHRISTOPHER, the Martyr, by race a Canaanite, and before baptism named Reprobus, a man terrible in look, and of most exceeding stature, being twelve cubits in height, suffered in the city Ammon of Lycia, under King Dagnus. Christopher bethought himself on a time, that he would seek out the greatest prince in the world, and take service with him. He went accordingly to a certain King Maximus, of whom the report went that a greater ruled not upon earth. And King Maximus, beholding his stature and strength, received him gladly, and he dwelt at his court.

"But on a certain day, the King's minstrel recited a lay, in which the Devil was ofttimes mentioned, and the King, who was a Christian, made each time the sign of the cross on his forehead. Christopher saw it and wondered, and enquired of the King why he did so, and what this sign meant? The King at first gave no answer, but at length when Christopher threatened to depart from him, he answered, that it was for fear of the Devil, whose name was so often mentioned. But Christopher immediately argued, that the Devil must be a

greater lord than the King, seeing the King feared him, and thus that he was in error, and had not yet found out the greatest lord in the world. Wherefore bidding farewell to King Maximus, he set out in search of the Devil.

"And passing through a desert place, he saw a mighty multitude of warriors, amongst whom a certain one, pre-eminently terrible and fierce, rode up to him, and asked whither he was going? To which he replied that he was seeking the Devil, and the knight told him that he himself was the Devil, who then spoke to him. So Christopher engaged himself to the Devil in perpetual service.

"And as they journied together, they came to a cross erected by the wayside, and the Devil, leaving the path, made a circuit through a forest, and re-entered the road beyond the cross. Which greatly marvelling at, Christopher with much earnestness enquired of the Devil why he had done so? And the Devil at first refused to tell him, but at length, being constrained thereto, he confessed and told him that a certain man who is named Christ, had hung upon that cross, whom he feared greatly, and that on that account he had turned aside out of the way. Whereupon Christopher concluded that Christ was yet a greater potentate than the Devil, and so immediately departed from his service, and disposed himself to seek out Christ.

"And after long seeking, not being able to find him, he fell in with a certain hermit, who preached Christ to him, and instructed him diligently in the faith, and baptized him. And when the hermit enjoined him prayer for his sins, and frequent fastings, as the service which he should pay to Christ, and Christopher represented that he was capable of none of these things, and besought some easier service, the hermit at length appointed him to dwell beside a certain river,[1] that, being so strong and tall of stature, he might carry across such as wished to pass over, telling him that this would be acceptable service, and that without doubt Christ would reveal himself unto him.

"Christopher, accordingly, came to the river, and built a hut there, and carrying the trunk of a palm-tree in his hand, in lieu of a staff, he supported himself with it in the water, and carried travellers across continually. And on a certain night, as he slept in his hut, he heard, thrice, the voice of

[1] Some say the Red Sea, as typical of baptism, but this seems to me an unnecessary refinement.

a little boy, calling him, and beseeching that he would carry him across. And going out the first and the second time he found no one, but on the third finding the child, he set him on his shoulders, and taking his staff, he entered the river to cross over it. And behold, the water of the river began to swell by little and little, and the boy he carried weighed heavy like lead. And the further he went in, the waters increased the more, and the boy pressed heavier and heavier on his shoulder. And at last, with great difficulty, he got to the other side. And setting down the child, he complained of his weight,—that it had been as if the whole world had rested on his shoulders. To whom the boy answered, that he had no cause to marvel, for that he had been carrying, not the world merely, but Him who had created the whole world,—and he told him that he was Christ the Lord. In token whereof, he commanded him to plant his staff in the earth, and he should find it budding and bearing fruit on the morrow. And immediately he vanished from his eyes. And Christopher planted the staff in the earth, and in the morning he found it bearing leaves and dates after the manner of the palm-tree. And thus he knew for a certainty that Christ had appeared unto him.

"And after these things he came to the city of Ammon, and not understanding the language of those people, he prayed to God, and presently the gift of their speech came to him. And they were torturing the Christians, and he comforted them in their sufferings. And one of the Judges struck him on the face, and he answered, 'I would avenge this injury, were I not a Christian.' And he planted his staff in the earth, and prayed God that it might take root and flourish, to the conversion of the people. And it did so, and eighteen thousand souls believed. But King Dagnus sent two hundred soldiers to take him. And finding him praying, they dared not touch him. And the King sent as many more the second time; but they began to pray along with him. And rising up, Christopher went with them before the King, and seeing him so tall of stature, King Dagnus fell from his seat to the ground for very fear, but his ministers raised him up again, and he questioned Christopher of his name, his country, and his religion. And declaring himself a Canaanite and a Christian, and refusing to sacrifice to the Gods, the King threw him into prison. And he sent two women to him, very beautiful,

to tempt him, promising them rich guerdon if they should beguile him to sin, and induce him to sacrifice. But while they spoke to him, and the holy martyr prayed to God, a bright light shone from his visage, and they were terrified, and Christopher prayed for them, and they were converted, and thereafter received martyrdom.

"And being brought again before the King, and refusing to sacrifice, Christopher was beaten with rods, and a red-hot helmet was placed on his head, but he in nowise yielded. And they laid him on an iron bed, and burnt pitch under him, but the iron melted like wax and the saint was found unhurt. Then the King had him bound to the trunk of a tree, and shot at by three hundred archers, but the arrows remained suspended in the air around Christopher. And when the King approached, thinking to behold him dead, one of the arrows suddenly turned round and flew back and hit him in the eye. And Christopher admonished him that he should take of his blood on the morrow, after beheading him, and anoint his eye with it, and that he would recover his sight. Wherefore the King ordered him to be led away and beheaded, and, after praying to God, his head was cut off. And the King, anointing his eye with the blood, was immediately healed, on account of which he believed in Christ, and commanded that the body of the martyr should be buried."[1]

[1] The reader will easily perceive, from the names Reprobus, Christophorus, etc., as well as from the character of the incidents described, that the whole of this legend is allegorical. "What emblem this was," observes Sir T. Browne, "or what its signification, conjectures are many; Pierius hath set down one, that is, of the disciple of Christ; for he that will carry Christ upon his shoulders, must rely upon the staff of his direction, whereon if he firmeth himself, he may be able to overcome the billows of resistance, and in the virtue of this staff, like Jacob, pass over the waters of Jordan. Or otherwise thus; he that will submit his shoulders unto Christ, shall by the concurrence of his power, increase into the strength of a giant; and being supported by the staff of the Holy Spirit, shall not be overpowered by the waves of this world, but wade through all resistance." *Vulgar Errors*, book 5, chap. 16.— The intellectual depreciation of giants, current during the middle ages, and indeed still—and a tendency to the grotesque, akin to that so whimsically indulged in by the Gothic sculptors—will also be perceived in the legend.

XXI. Legends of Ascetic or Monastic Saints.

[Distinguishable from the preceding class in the manner noticed at page 53, and including

1. The Legend of Mary Magdalen, which partakes of the character of both, and serves as a link between them :—
2. Those of the 'Fathers of the Desert,' extracted from the lives of S. Paul the Proto-hermit, S. Antony, S. Hilarion, and others, the founders of monachism in Egypt and Syria, illustrating the spirit of the ascetic or 'angelical life,' both in its earlier stage of demoniacal and sensual agony,[1] and its later, of quietism and abstraction,[2] in each individual :—And,
3. The Legends attached to S. Jerome, the great apostle and propagator of monachism in the Latin church—to S. Martin, S. Benedict, S. Bruno and S. Bernard—omitting for the present those of S. Domenic and S. Francis, which, with others of less importance, will be noticed hereafter.]

1. *Of S. Mary Magdalen.*

[Based upon the identity (presumed from very early times, however uncritically) of Mary Magdalen, Mary the sister of Lazarus, and the woman that "was a sinner," *Luke* vii, 37.—From the 'Catalogus Sanctorum' of Peter de Natalibus.]

"After the ascension of the Lord, and in the fourteenth year

[1] This phase of the Angelical life can only be appreciated, in its horrors, by perusal of the original writers.

[2] I subjoin an extract from the 'Institutio Spiritualis' of Ludovicus Blosius (Louis de Blois), as illustrative of the mystical union with the Deity, coveted by the ascetic saints :—

"Happy is that soul which continually affecteth purity of heart and holy introversion, and wholly renounceth self-love, self-will, and self-gain. She earneth a continually nearer and nearer approximation to God. And at length, her highest powers being uplifted, enlightened and embellished by divine grace, she obtaineth unity and nudity of spirit, and arriveth at pure and indescribable love and simple thought, which is void of all thoughts. And thus, having become capacious of the excellent and ineffable grace of God, she is led to that living fountain which floweth from the Eternal, and refresheth, over and above, the minds of the Saints. And ere long she is made sufficient for contemplating the abyss of the Deity, with a serene, simple and joyful intuition, without Imagination, and without any admixture of Intellect. Whence when she turneth herself with entire love towards God, incomprehensible light shining forth from Him into her depths, the eye of Reason and Intellect, being beaten back, waxeth blind, but the simple eye of the soul herself, to wit, the pure, naked, uniform, and super-intellectual Thought remaineth open. Thereafter, the natural light of the Intellect being darkened by so great a brightness, the soul seeth nothing in time, but, elevated high above time and space, assumeth after a certain manner the property of eternity. For dismissing the images, distinction and consideration of things, she now learneth by experience that God far transcendeth all images, corporeal, spiritual and divine, and clearly perceiveth that, whatever may be apprehended by in-

after the dispersion of the Apostles, the Jews, taking Mary Magdalen and many Christians, among whom were the blessed

tellect, whatever may be spoken or written concerning God, whatever name may be imposed on him, still all such things stand infinitely remote from the truth of the divine essence, and therefore that same essence is nameless and indefinable. She is ignorant, nevertheless, what the God is, whom she is thus sensible of. Hence foreknowledge being obtained without knowledge, she quiesceth in the only, loveable, naked, simple, and unknown God. For the Divine Light is inaccessible through its too great brightness,—whence also it is called darkness. And thus the Soul becometh suscipient of the hidden word, which God uttereth in the internal silence and secret recess of the mind. Receiving this, she blissfully experienceth the embrace of mystic union. For after that she hath surmounted intellect and all images through love, and is exalted above herself (which God alone can effect for her), then, flowing downwards from herself, she streameth into God, and thus God is her peace and fruition. She, therefore, elevated to such excess of mind, singeth rightfully 'In pace in idipsum dormiam et requiescam,' *Ps.* iv, 8. For the loving soul, I say, flowing down and failing from herself, and as if reduced to nothing, sinketh into the abyss of eternal love, where, dead to herself, she liveth in God, nothing knowing, nothing feeling, save the love which she enjoyeth. For she loseth herself in that most vast solitude and darkness of the Deity, yet so as, losing herself, she rather findeth herself. There, verily, putting off whatever is human, and putting on what is divine, she is transformed and transmuted into God, as iron placed in the fire receiveth the form of fire and is transmuted into fire. Yet the essence of the soul, thus deified, still remaineth, even as iron ignited doth not cease to be iron. Thus, that very soul that before was cold, now burneth—that before was dark, now shineth—that before was hard, now softeneth. Wholly and altogether she taketh the colour of God, forasmuch as her essence is bathed in the essence of God. Wholly consumed and wholly liquefied by the fire of the divine love, she hath passed over into God, and, united unto him without medium, she is made one spirit with him, as gold and brass are fused into one mass of metal. But of those who thus surmount and are rapt into God, there are divers grades, for each man reacheth deeper and higher into God in proportion to the energy, ardency and love with which he turneth himself towards Him, and the entireness with which he repelleth all selfish ends in doing so.

"Oh! holy is that spirit, which, singled out and visited by God, created above all things, and elevated above her proper operation, is in the essence of Memory denuded of all images and sentient of unmingled purity and simplicity,—in the essence of Intellect, perceiveth the prefulgent illumination of the Sun of Justice, and recogniseth the divine Truth,—and further, in the essence of Love, feeleth a certain glow of quiet love or contact of the Holy Ghost, as if of a living fountain, flowing with rivulets of eternal sweetness, and thus is invited and introduced into that excelling union with God! O happy is that hour! For then the Soul, with supernatural and most grateful solemnity, and with the joy of spring, hath inward fruition, and after a manner a foretaste of future beatitude. O happy is he, to whom that most fragrant spring and that most pleasant summer arise within him,—to whom it is granted to experience that divine union even for a moment! For he is led to that which neither reason not intellect can comprehend nor tongue express. Through a wise ignorance, and through the intimate contact of love, he knoweth God better than his exterior eyes can take cognisance of the visible sun. To that pass is he established in God,

Maximinus, one of the seventy-two disciples, to whom Mary had been specially commended by St. Peter, and Lazarus her

that he perceiveth God to be nearer to him than he himself is to himself,—whence even here, already, he liveth a deiform and superessential life, being conformed to Christ in spirit, soul and body. Whether he eateth or drinketh, whether he watcheth or sleepeth, God ever worketh in him who liveth superessentially in Him. Such an one God himself teacheth concerning all things, and openeth spiritual and mystic senses to him. Most frequently—yea rather unceasingly—doth he visit, embrace, kiss, illumine, burn, penetrate and fill him. For his soul being made like unto a clear mirror, without spot or stain, objected and spread under the sun, the Sun of Justice, Himself, cannot but pour out into it continually the rays of wisdom and the sparks of love through the channels of his grace. Truly indeed, both sublimely and wonderfully doth God sometimes reveal and manifest himself to the perfect Soul,—yet not as yet doth he shew himself as He is, in his ineffable glory, but according as he can be looked upon, in this life."

The reader will at once perceive the self-sufficing, anti-mediatorial, anti-hierarchical, anti-Christian and Pantheistical tendency of these doctrines, and their affinity with the Shamanism and Buddhism of the East, the Pythagorean and Platonic systems of Greece, and the Quietism and Pietism of the sects of Christianity and Islamism. Blosius, a learned Benedictine of the sixteenth century, is styled "sublimissimus rerum mysticarum interpres" by Father Corderius, in his "Isagoge ad Mysticam Theologiam," prefixed to his edition of Dionysius Areopagita, and from which I have extracted the preceding paragraphs. I might have accompanied them, as well as the following sketches of the lives of the Fathers of the Desert, with a running commentary of quotations illustrative of the affinity, indeed identity, in doctrine and expression, of Christian and Oriental mysticism, but space will not permit,[1] and the reader will easily discriminate between the errors of the theory—the most deadly blow to morality and happiness ever dealt by the devil at mankind—and the virtues of its victims—many of them saints indeed, and whose history is full of instruction, provided only we look down upon it from the vantage-ground of experience. Men should be judged by the past to which they were heirs, their principles and measures by the present, which those measures and principles have produced. We must look up the stream in the one instance, and down in the other; this is the golden rule of truth and charity, and without it, history is a libel.[2]

[1] I will only add an extract from an Arabian writer, reciting the privileges and powers acquired over nature by mystic abstraction, to wit—"produire ce qui n'existe point, et réduire au néant ce qui existe; faire paroître ce qui est caché, et cacher ce qui est apparent; obtenir l'effet d'une prière; parcourir en peu de temps une grande distance; voir les choses qui ne sont pas accessibles aux sens, et les décrire; être présent tout à la fois en différens lieux; rendre la vie à des morts et donner la mort à des vivans; entendre les paroles des bêtes, des plantes et des corps inorganiques, soit des cantiques, soit d'autres choses; faire paroître à quoi manger et boire quand on a besoin, sans aucun moyen extérieur; enfin une multitude d'autres choses contraires à la nature, telles que marcher sur l'eau, nager dans l'air, soumettre à ses volontés les bêtes sauvages, avoir des forces corporelles extraordinaires, frapper de la main sur une muraille en sorte qu'elle se fende, faire signe du doigt à quelqu'un de tomber, et que cet homme tombe en effet, et que la tête de cette personne saute dans l'air." With a few exceptions, this might be a list of the miracles of the Christian Saints and Fathers of the Desert. See the 'Lives of the Sooffees' by Djami, (where the above extract is inserted), as translated by De Sacy, *Notices des MSS. de la Bibl. du Roi*, tom. xii, p. 368.

[2] I do not hesitate in branding Mysticism as the most subtle device ever hit upon by Satan to delude mankind—the subtler and the more dangerous inasmuch as it takes its rise in the purest and holiest emotions of the heart. Engrossing the Senses, lulling the Imagination, and silencing the Reason, it commends and insinuates itself into every creed, Moslem, Hindoo,

brother, and Martha, and Marcella the handmaid of Martha, and also the blessed Cedonius, who had been blind from his birth, and whose eyes the Lord had opened, they sent them away from Judea in a vessel without oars or sailors, that they might perish in the ocean. But, by God's guidance, they were driven to Massilia (Marseilles), where no one taking them in, they lodged for the night under the portico of a temple. And when the people came in the morning, to sacrifice to the idols,

and Christian, and lies at the root too of almost every aberration from orthodoxy in Europe and Asia. The observations of Jeremy Taylor on Contemplation and Ecstasy, though less condemnatory than might be wished, are well worth insertion here, especially under the present phase of religious excitement in England:—"Beyond this I have described, there is a degree of Meditation so exalted, that it changes the very name, and is called Contemplation, and it is in the unitive way of religion, that is, it consists in unions and adherences to God; it is a prayer of quietness and silence, and a meditation extraordinary, a discourse without variety, a vision and intuition of divine excellencies, an immediate entry into an orb of light, and a resolution of all our faculties into sweetnesses, affections and starings upon the Divine beauty, and is carried on to ecstasies, raptures, suspensions, elevations, abstractions, and apprehensions beatifical. In all the course of virtuous meditation, the soul is like a virgin invited to make a matrimonial contract; it enquires the condition of the person, his estate and disposition, and other circumstances of amiability and desire; but when she is satisfied with these enquiries, and hath chosen her husband, she no more considers particulars, but is moved by his voice and his gesture, and runs to his entertainment and fruition, and spends herself wholly in affections, not to obtain but enjoy his love. Thus it is said. But this is a thing not to be discoursed of, but felt; and although in other sciences, the terms must first be known and then the rules and conclusions scientifical, here it is otherwise; for first, the whole experience of this must be obtained before we can so much as know what it is, and the end must be acquired first, the conclusion before the premises. They that pretend to these heights call them the secrets of the kingdom. But they are such which no man can describe; such which God hath not revealed in the publication of the Gospel; such for the acquiring of which there are no means presented, and to which no man is obliged, and which are not in any man's power to obtain, nor such which it is lawful to pray for or desire, nor concerning which we shall ever be called to any account. Indeed, when persons have been long softened with the continual droppings of religion, and their spirits made timorous and apt for impression by the assiduity of prayer, and perpetual alarms of death, and the continual dyings of mortification, the fancy, which is a very great instrument of devotion, is kept continually warm, and in a disposition and aptitude to take fire, and to flame out in great ascents; and when they suffer transportations beyond the burdens and support of reason, they suffer they know not what and call it what they please, and other pious people, that hear talk of it, admire that devotion which is so eminent and beatified (for so they esteem it), and so they come to be called raptures and ecstasies, which, even amongst the Apostles, were so seldom that they were never spoken of; for those visions, raptures and intuitions of S. Stephen, S. Paul, S. Peter and S. John, were not pretended to be of this kind,—not excesses of religion, but prophetical and intuitive revelations, to great and significant purposes, such as may be and are described in story, but these other cannot; for so Cassian reports, and commends a saying of Antony the Eremite, 'That is not a perfect prayer in which the votary does either understand himself or the prayer;' meaning, that persons eminently religious were 'divina patientes,' as Dionysius Areopagita said of his master Hierotheus, patics in devotion, suffering ravishments of senses, transported beyond the uses of humanity into the suburbs of beatifical apprehensions: but whether or no this be any thing besides a too intense and indiscreet pressure of the faculties of the soul to inconveniences of understanding, or else a credulous, busy and untamed fancy, they that think best of it cannot give a certainty. There are, and have been, some religious, who have acted madness and pretended inspirations; and when these are destitute of a prophetic spirit, if they resolve to serve themselves upon the pretences of it, they are disposed to the imitation, if not to the sufferings, of madness; and it would be a great folly to call such 'Dei plenos,' full of God, who are no better than fantastic and mad people.', *Life of Christ*, *Works*, tom. ii, pp. 118 *sqq.* ed. *Heber*.—The metaphors, it should be observed, derived from love and marriage, as typical of union with God, have given sanction to very reprehensible language and imagery, not only among the mystic poets of the East but among the hymn-writers of Christendom.

Mary began to preach Christ to them, and many were converted, admiring her beauty and her eloquence. And when the prince of the province and his wife came to the temple, in order to implore offspring from the Gods by sacrifice, Mary dissuaded them, and announced Christ. And the prince desired Mary to entreat God for him for a son, promising to believe in Christ if her prayer was granted. Mary, accordingly, prayed, and after a few days the princess conceived.

"Thereafter, the prince and his wife, the latter being several months gone with child, embarked for Rome, in order to visit Peter. And as they departed, Mary signed them on the shoulders with the sign of the cross, for their protection. And the prince left Mary guardian of his state and household. But after they had sailed for an entire day, the wind arose and the tempest waxed fierce, and the princess was seized with the pains of childbirth. And in the midst of that storm and suffering she brought forth a son, and instantly expired. And while the babe wept and the father had nothing to feed it with, and wept bitterly, murmuring against the blessed Magdalen, through whom he had incurred this evil, and the sailors urged him to throw the body of his wife into the sea, behold from afar a rock appeared amid the waves, and with much difficulty he persuaded the sailors to touch at it. And landing, he found a cave there, and placed the body of his wife within it, and laid the infant upon her breast, and covered them with his cloak, and re-embarked, commending the soul of his wife and the care of his child to the blessed Mary Magdalen. And when he reached Rome and told Peter what had happened, Peter comforted him and confirmed him in the faith. And the prince went with Peter to Jerusalem, and they visited together all the sacred places, and then returned to Rome.

"And two years having now elapsed, he parted from Peter, and re-embarked, and set sail for Gaul. And coming to the rock where he had left the body of his wife and the child, he landed there, and he found the child playing on the shore with the pebbles and shells, for Mary had preserved him,—and when he saw the sailors, he was terrified and fled to his mother's breast, and hid himself under the cloak. And the father came near and beheld how the child had been nourished at his mother's breast for two years, and as he wept for joy, behold! the mother began to breathe, and waking up as if

from sleep, gave thanks to the blessed Mary Magdalen,—adding, that she had returned from the self-same pilgrimage which he had made, and she described all the places where they had been. For even as Peter had conducted her husband, so had the blessed Magdalen conducted herself through those holy regions. So the prince returned, with his wife and child, to Marseilles, and told all this to Mary, and, destroying the temples of the idols, he received baptism with his whole people. And he built a church in the name of Christ, and appointed the blessed Lazarus bishop in Marseilles. And thereafter proceeding to Aix, they preached there and converted the people, and Maximinus was made their bishop.

"Meanwhile the blessed Magdalen sought out a very desert wilderness, and dwelt there unknown for thirty years in a place prepared for her by the angels, where neither were flowing waters nor herbs of any kind for her solace, that thus it might be understood that not by earthly, but by celestial food the Lord thought fitting to sustain her. And there, day by day, at the seven canonical hours, she was carried up by angels into the air, and refreshed with the songs of heaven, and from thence was brought down again by the selfsame angels to her cave. And thus satisfied, she needed no earthly nutriment.

"But at length a certain priest, adopting the solitary life, and building his cell at twelve stadia from that place, heard on a certain day the voices of angels, and beheld with his bodily eyes how Mary was carried up by the angels, and in due time brought back again. And desirous to see this vision more clearly, he drew nigh, commending himself to God, and with much fear, adjured her that she should instruct him who or what she was. Then Mary bade him come nearer, and told him that she was that famous sinner who is mentioned in the Gospel, and who had washed the feet of Jesus with her tears, and merited the pardon of her sins, and that she had dwelt in that place, unknown, for thirty years, sustained by the food of heaven only. And knowing that her death drew near, as the Lord had revealed to her, she commanded the priest to go to Maximinus the bishop, and relate what he had seen, and desire him, on her part, to be in his church in the morning of the Lord's Day following, whither the angels should bring her, that she might receive the sacraments of the Lord from him. And the priest gave her his cloak at her

request, that she might cover herself, being naked, and thus come to the church more decently.

"Wherefore the priest went to Maximinus, and told him these things, and at the hour appointed he found Mary in the church, in the midst of a choir of angels, elevated in the air two cubits above the earth, and with hands extended in prayer, and with her face shining as the sun, from her constant converse with angels.[1] And when Maximinus feared to approach her, she encouraged and comforted him, that he should recognise his daughter. Who, calling his clergy and the priest foresaid, offered her the body of Christ, which she received with a great flood of tears, and then, her body prostrate before the altar, her spirit flew up to God in the hands of angels. And her body diffused an exceeding fragrance for seven days, after which the blessed Maximinus buried it. And he commanded that his own should, after death, be laid beside it."

2. *Of the Fathers of the Desert.*

i. *Of S. Paul the Proto-hermit.*

[Born A.D. 229, died 342. From his Life, written by S. Jerome (from the information of Amathas and Macarius, pupils of S. Antony), c. 365, —and according to the Benedictine editors, "dejecto nonnihil stylo, propter simpliciores."—*Opera*, tom. iv, part 2, col. 68 *sqq.*]

"The persecution raging in Egypt under the Emperor Decius, and the parents of Paul dying when he was about the age of sixteen, leaving him rich and well instructed, as well in Egyptian as Greek letters, and it being told to Paul that the husband of his sister purposed to betray him, the prudent youth took refuge in the wilderness till the persecution should be ended. And after much wandering, he at length discovered a rocky mountain, near the foot of which there was a large cave which was closed with a stone. Which having removed (so eager are men to discover things secret!), and entering in, he found himself in a spacious vestibule, open to the sky, and shadowed by an ancient palm-tree, with a spring of very clear water, but which merely appeared to disappear again, being immediately absorbed by the earth, the daughter by the mother. Moreover, cells not a few were dug in the rocky face of the mountain, wherein anvils and dies for coining money were

[1] "Till oft converse with heavenly habitants," etc.

still remaining. For it had been a lurking-place of coiners of false money about the time of Cleopatra and Mark Antony.[1]

"Pleased therefore with this retreat, thus provided for him, as it seemed, by God, he passed his whole life there in solitude and prayer. The palm-tree afforded him food and raiment, Nor let any one deem this impossible, for I call Jesus to witness and the holy angels, that in that part of the desert which adjoins the Saracens[2] beside Syria, I have seen monks living, of whom one, closed up for thirty years, lived on barley-bread and muddy water, and another, enclosed in an old cistern, supported life solely on five figs a day.

"But, that I may return to my purpose, when the blessed Paul had now for one hundred and thirteen years lived the life of heaven on earth, and Antony, at the age of ninety, was dwelling (as he used to relate) in another solitude, it entered into the thought of the latter that no hermit dwelt in the desert more perfect than himself. But it was revealed to him by night, as he slept, that there dwelt another in the desert far worthier than himself, and that he should go and visit him. Wherefore, as soon as it was dawn, the old man, sustaining his feeble limbs with a staff, set out on his journey, whither he knew not. And though noon arrived, and the sun scorched him with his fervent heat, he persevered, saying, 'I trust in my God, that he will discover to me my fellow-servant, as he hath promised.'

"And straightway he saw a creature, half a man and half a horse, such as the fancy of the poets has named a Centaur. Whom perceiving, and fortifying his brow with the sign of salvation, 'Where,' asked he, 'doth this servant of God dwell?' And the centaur, growling I know not what, and rather breaking his words than articulating them, nevertheless offered him a kindly greeting, and stretching out his hand, he indicated the road, and then swiftly taking flight across the broad plain, he vanished from his eyes. But whether this was a delusion of the devil desiring to affright him, or one of the monstrous animals that the desert, so fertile in such prodigies, had given birth to, we must leave in doubt.[3]

[1] The cave is said to be still shown near the monastery of Mar Antonios in Gebel Kolzim, West of the Red Sea.

[2] This name originally belonged to the Arab tribes inhabiting the peninsula (as it is called) of Mount Sinai, and the region to the North of it, between Egypt and Syria.

[3] In the Egyptian mythology the desert is considered the abode and domain of Typhon, the Evil Principle,

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"Marvelling therefore, and reflecting on what he had seen, Antony fared further. And presently, in a narrow pass of the rocks, he beheld a little man, with a hooked nose, his brow bristling with horns, and his lower parts ending in the feet of a goat. But Antony, undaunted even by this spectacle, seized the shield of faith and the breastplate of hope, as a good soldier; nevertheless the animal held out to him dates of the palm-tree to refresh him, as if in pledge of peace. Perceiving this, Antony pressed forward, and asking who he was, received this answer, 'I am mortal, and of the dwellers of the wilderness, whom, in their various error, the deluded Gentiles call Fauns and Satyrs and Incubi. I come in embassy to you from my flock; we pray you to entreat in our behalf our common Lord, whom we know to have come down for the salvation of the world, for his report hath gone forth through all the earth.' Hearing these things, the aged pilgrim shed copious tears, the witness of his heart, his joy being so great. For he rejoiced in the glory of God and the downfall of Satan. And striking the earth with his staff, 'Woe unto thee,' he exclaimed, 'Alexandria! the harlot city, confluence of devils from the ends of the earth! what sayest thou now? beasts speak of Christ, and thou worshippest monsters in place of Christ!' And, while he was yet speaking, the animal departed swiftly, as if he had wings.[1] And lest any one should deem this incredible, the whole world can bear witness to it; for a man of this description was brought alive to Alexandria in the days of Constantine, and exhibited to the people, and after death, the body was carried, salted, to Constantinople, that it might be seen of the Emperor.

"But, that I may pursue my purpose, Antony continued on his way through that region, seeing nothing but the tracks of wild beasts and the wide desolation of the wilderness. What he should do, whither he should turn, he knew not. And now another day had flown by. His confidence that it was not possible that Christ should forsake him was his only stay. He spent the second night in prayer, and on the early

the enemy of Osiris. It was similarly in the wilderness that Our Saviour retired to be tempted of the devil. Hence the predilection of the Ascetic Saints, in all ages, for the wildest and most secluded scenes of Nature. It was carrying the war into the enemy's quarters, and vanquishing him on his own ground.

[1] "And zit [yet] is the Hede with the 2 Hornes of that Monstre at Alisandre for a Marveyle."—*Voiage and Travaile of Sir John Maundeville, etc.*, p. 57.

morrow, while it was yet twilight, he beheld at a distance a she-wolf, panting with thirst, creeping into a cave at the foot of the mountain. Whom following with his eyes, and drawing near the cave, after the beast had departed, he began to gaze earnestly into it, but in vain, the darkness impeding his sight. But as Scripture saith, 'Perfect love casteth out fear,' and with doubtful foot and indrawn breath, cautiously entering in, and advancing by little and little, and frequently standing still, he listened for some sound, till at length perceiving a distant light glimmering through the darkness, and hastening more eagerly forward, he struck his foot against a stone, and the blessed Paul, hearing the noise, shut to the door, which had been open, and secured it by a bolt. Then Antony, falling down before the door, prayed for admission even till the sixth hour and later, saying, 'Thou knowest who I am, and whence, and wherefore I am come. I know I do not merit to look upon thee; nevertheless, unless I see thee, I depart not hence. Thou who welcomest the wolf, why repellest thou me? I have sought and I have found thee; I knock that it may be opened! And if thou deny me, I will die here at thy threshold, and thou wilt at least bury my carcase!'

> "Thus, rooted to the spot, he urged his quest;
> Whom, answering brief, the hero thus addrest:"[1]

—'No one begs by menace, or libelleth with tears? And why marvel that I do not welcome you, if you have come to die here?'—so, smilingly, Paul opened the door. Which being done, while they mutually embraced, they saluted one another, each by his proper name, and rendered thanks to God together.

"And after a holy kiss, Paul, sitting down, began to discourse with Antony, 'Behold, then, him whom thou hast sought out with such pains—rotted by time, withered and worn with old age! Thou beholdest me still alive indeed, but about to become dust. Yet since love sustains the universe, tell me, I beseech you, how it fares with the human race,—whether new buildings are rising in old cities, under whose empire the world is now governed, and whether any survive of those who were deluded by the error of devils?'—And while

[1] "Talia perstabat memorans, fixusque manebat.
Ad quem responsum paucis ita reddidit heros."
Virg. Aen. ii. 650; vi. 672.

thus discoursing, they perceived that a raven had settled on a branch of the palm-tree, and it flew gently down, and laid an entire loaf before them, and then departing, 'Lo!' said Paul, 'God hath sent us dinner! the truly pitiful, the truly merciful! For sixty years have I received daily a quarter of a loaf, but at thy coming Christ hath doubled his soldiers' pay!'

"Thanking God, therefore, they sat down together, on the margin of the glassy fountain. And here a contention arose between them, which of the two should break the loaf. Paul urged it on Antony, as being his guest; Antony refused, as being the younger in age. At length, when the dispute had lasted well nigh to the evening, they came to terms thus, that each one taking hold of one extremity of the loaf, they should break it between them by a simultaneous effort, so that the portion of each might remain in his hands. And when they had eaten, bending down to the fountain they sipped a very little of the water, and offering to God the sacrifice of praise, they passed the night in vigil.

"And when day returned, the blessed Paul spoke thus to Antony, 'I have long known of thee, my brother, as a dweller in these regions, and long ago God promised thee to me, as a fellow-servant. And now that the time of my falling asleep draws nigh, and that my longing to depart and be with Christ is granted, and that, my course being finished, there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, thou art sent me by the Lord to cover my carcase with earth, and to render dust to dust.' And, hearing this, Antony, weeping and groaning, besought him not to abandon him, but to take him as his companion on that his journey. But Paul replied, 'Thou oughtest not to seek thine own things, but the things of others; the abject burden of the flesh is needful for thee in order to follow the Lamb, and thy brethren too have still need of thee, to learn by thy example. Wherefore go, I beseech you, if it be not irksome to you, and bring the pall which the bishop Athanasius gave you, to wrap my carcase in.' And this indeed the blessed Paul requested, not that he greatly cared whether his body rotted naked or covered (as one who for so great a space of time had worn but a robe of woven palm-leaves), but in order that Antony might be spared the grief of seeing him die. Marvelling, therefore, when he heard of Athanasius and his robe, as if seeing Christ in Paul, and venerating God in his heart, he dared answer him nothing further,

but weeping in silence, and kissing his eyes and hands, he went back to his monastery, which was afterwards occupied by the Saracens. Nor did his steps keep pace with his spirit. But, though wasted with fasts and broken by years, he still pressed onward, conquering old age by resolution.

"Weary, at length, and breathless, he reached his journey's end, his cell; and two of his diciples, who had long been accustomed to minister to him, came forth to meet him, saying, 'Where, O father! hast thou been tarrying so long?' And he answered, 'Woe to me, a sinner, who bear falsely the name of a monk! I have seen Elijah, I have seen John in the desert, and I have seen Paul verily in Paradise.' And refraining his lips and smiting his breast, he brought forth the pall. And his disciples entreating that he would inform them further, he replied, 'There is a time to keep silence, and a time to speak.'

"Then going forth, and taking not the least morsel of food, he returned the way he had come, thirsting for Paul, longing to see him, embracing him with his whole eyes and heart. For he feared, what indeed came to pass, that Paul might render the spirit to Christ during his absence. But when another day had dawned, and he had travelled three hours more, he saw Paul rising to heaven, and shining with the whiteness of snow, among troops of angels and a choir of prophets and apostles. And immediately, falling on his face, throwing dust on his head and weeping, he cried, 'Paul, why quittest thou me? why leave me without farewell? known so late, why departest thou so soon?'

"The blessed Antony used afterwards to relate that he flew over the remainder of that journey with the swiftness of a bird, and that, on entering the cave, he found the lifeless body kneeling, with uplifted neck, and hands stretched out to heaven, so that at first, believing him yet alive, he prayed (as he thought) along with him, till hearing, after awhile, none of the sighs which were wont to accompany his prayer, and drawing near to offer him the kiss of grief, he perceived that even the holy carcase still prayed to God, unto whom all things live, in its gesture of observance.

"Having wrapped up the body, therefore, and carried it forth of the cave, and sung the psalms and hymns of Christian tradition, Antony was lamenting that he had not a spade, with which he might dig the earth. And wavering in his mind, he

considered, 'To return to the monastery would be four days' journey—and if I remain here, I can do nothing more; let me die therefore, as is fitting, beside the warrior of Christ!' But, behold, while he thus meditated, two lions came from the interior of the desert, bounding towards him, with their manes streaming on their necks, seeing whom he was at first affrighted, but speedily recollecting himself, he awaited them fearlessly, as though they had been doves. And they came straight to the place, and stopped at the corpse of the blessed Paul, and blandishing with their tails, lay down at his feet, roaring loudly, so as to show that they bemoaned him after their power. Then they began to tear up the ground, close by, with their feet, and casting forth the sand, they dug a hole capable of containing a man. And then, as if seeking a guerdon for their toil, they came to Antony, throwing back their ears, and bending down their necks, and licking his hands and feet. And he perceived that they sought his benediction. And, breaking into praise to Christ that even mute animals knew him to be God, he said, 'Lord! without whose nod not a leaf of the tree drops nor a sparrow falls, grant unto these creatures according to thy wisdom!' And signing with his hand, he commanded them to depart. And when they were gone, he bent his aged shoulders to the work, and placing Paul in the grave, and gathering the earth over him, he performed his sepulture.

"And on the following day, taking, as Paul's heir, the robe which, after the manner of a basket, he had woven for himself of leaves of palm, he returned to his monastery, and related all things in order to his disciples, and ever thereafter wore the robe on the high feast-days of Easter and Pentecost.

"And now, in closing this little book, let me ask those who are ignorant of their true inheritance, who dress their houses with marbles, who add farm to farm and villa to villa—what lacked this Paul, think you, in his nakedness? You drink from the diamond, he satisfied nature with the hollow of his hand. You weave your tunics with gold, he had not the attire of your vilest menial. But, on the other hand, Paradise opens to him, in his poverty—Gehenna gapes for you, in your riches! Paul, in nakedness, wore the livery of Christ; ye, in your silks, have lost it! Paul lies in humility under his little heap of dust—to rise again to glory; ye, in your pride, under your costly cenotaphs—to burn with your gold for ever! Oh

spare, I entreat you! spare yourselves—or at least, spare the wealth that ye prize so dearly! Why wrap ye your dead in cloth of gold? Why quencheth not pride amid sighs and tears? Can the corpses of the rich rot only in silks? Whoever thou art, that readest this, remember, I beseech thee, Jerome, a sinner,—who if God gave him the choice, would rather elect the robe of Paul with the merits of Paul, than the purple of kings, with their sceptres and their hell!"

ii. *Of the Temptations of S. Antony.*

[The founder of the Monastic Life in Egypt; born A.D. 251, died 356. From the eighth, ninth, and tenth chapters of his Life, a very curious work, written by S. Athanasius, *Opera*, tom. ii, pp. 802 *sqq.* edit. *Benedict.*]

"Thus therefore, restraining himself, after the example of Elijah, he retired to the tombs, at a distance, without the village, and having charged one of his familiars to bring him food at intervals of many days, he entered one of them, and closing the door, remained alone within. But the Enemy, not enduring this, and fearing lest in a little he should fill the very desert with asceticism, coming to him one night with a crowd of devils, he so wounded him with stripes that he lay on the ground speechless, from the torture. But, by the providence of God (for the Lord never overlooks those who trust in him), the next day the familiar who provided his food, arrived, and opening the door, and seeing him lying as if dead on the ground, he lifted him up, and carried him into the church of the village, and laid him on the ground. And many of his kindred, and the men of the village, sat down to watch by his body, supposing him dead. But about the middle of the night, Antony, coming to himself, and being thoroughly awakened, when he saw them all sleeping, and only his familiar watching, he beckoned to him and besought him to lift him up and carry him back to the tombs, without waking any of them.

"The man carried him back accordingly, and closing the door as usual, Antony was once more alone within, and as he could not stand, on account of his wounds, he prayed as he lay. And after prayer, he cried with a shout, 'Here I am, Antony—I shun not the wounds that ye can inflict, and even if ye lay more upon me, nothing shall separate me from the

love of Christ.' And then he sang, 'Though an host should encamp against me, my heart shall not fear.'—But Satan, the enemy of good, marvelling that, after such wounds, he dared to return, called together his hounds and said unto them, bursting with fury, 'Ye see how that neither by the spirit of concupiscence nor by stripes can we put down this fellow, nay rather, he defies us,—let us attack him otherwise!'—for the devil is prompt in the devising of evil. In the night, therefore, they upraised so great a clamour that the whole place seemed to quake, and, as if bursting through the four walls of the cell, devils rushed in upon him from all sides, transformed in the guise of wild beasts and creeping things, and the place was straightway filled with spectres of lions, bears, leopards, bulls and serpents, asps, scorpions and wolves, all of them in motion after their proper fashion, the lion roaring as about to spring on him, the bull offering to gore him, the serpent hissing, and the wolf making as if he would fly at him, but all in seeming only, as under restraint, though dire were the noises and fierce the menaces of those phantoms, thus huddled together all around him.

"But Antony, although wounded and smarting from their former injuries, lay unterrified and vigilant, and said to them mockingly, 'If there were aught of power in ye, one would have sufficed, but since the Lord hath unnerved you, ye seek to terrify me by numbers. It is a token of your weakness, this aping of dumb beasts,'—and then he resumed in boldness, 'If ye are able, and have any power over me, delay not but come on! if ye have none, why do you disturb me, to no purpose? For faith in the Lord is my seal, and my wall of salvation.' But they, while preparing to assail him yet further, gnashed on him with their teeth, that they had as yet made sport for him only, and not for themselves.

"But the Lord, meanwhile, did not forget the combat of Antony, but came to his assistance. And looking up, he saw as it were the roof opened, and a ray of light descending upon him. And the devils on a sudden disappeared. And the pain of his body was straightway assuaged, and the cell was again entire as before. And Antony, perceiving the divine interposition, and having recovered his breath, and feeling lightened of his sufferings, besought the vision, saying, 'Where wert thou? why didst thou not appear from the beginning, in relief of my anguish?' And a voice came to him, saying,

'Antony, I was here, but I stood waiting to witness thy combat. And since thou hast prevailed, and not been worsted, I will be with thee from henceforth as thy helper, for ever, and I will make thee renowned through all the earth.' And after hearing these things, Antony rose up and prayed, and received such strength that he was more vigorous in the body than before. And Antony was then near upon thirty and five years of age."

I add two accounts of the community originally instituted by S. Antony in Lower Egypt, the one by Ruffinus, the other by Palladius, bishop of Helenopolis, and author of the 'Historia Lausiaca,'—both written towards the close of the fourth century, and abridged from the 'Lives of the Fathers of the Desert':—

"We also visited the monasteries of Nitria, which is about forty miles distant from Alexandria, in which place are about fifty monasteries,[1] all near each other, and all governed by one principal father, some of the monks dwelling in company, some apart, but all united in charity. And as we drew nigh, they all came forth from their cells, like bees from the hive, and came to meet us with joyful faces, bringing some their bread, some their water, to refresh us, and first of all, they led us to the church with psalms and hymns. And after prayer, they washed our feet, and every one wished to entertain us. It is impossible to express their charity, each one wishing to be our host, and to instruct us in the way of God, and tell us of the many virtues that dwelt among them,—and nowhere else did we find the duties of hospitality so perfectly performed, or the study of divine wisdom so fervent. They were not ignorant and unlettered (*idiotæ*) like many others, but with great diligence united meditation and mutual instruction with the study of wisdom, so that each one seemed to be a master.

"And beyond this place, about ten miles deeper in the desert, was another more solitary, named Cellia, from the multitude of cells, and there we saw the venerable father Ammon, on whom God seemed to have shed every grace, whether one considered his charity, his humility, his patience, his kindness to all men, or the wisdom and knowledge that

[1] "Tabernacula." — It appears from the narrative that there were crocodiles then in the lake near Nitria. They are never seen now North of Bellini, on the Nile. These early hagiographers abound in curious intimations respecting topography and natural science.

God had given him, and in which no man equalled him." *Ruffinus, in Rosweyde's Vitæ Patrum*, lib. ii, p. 477, edit. Antv. 1615; *Vite de' SS. Padri*, lib. i, cap. 60.

"After I had spent three years visiting the monasteries around Alexandria, in which I found full two thousand perfect monks, I came to the Mount of Nitria, where I found full five thousand living either apart or in company, after their pleasure. And I was received with much charity both by them and the abbot Arsisius, their superior (who lived formerly for a time under S. Antony), and there I saw a great church, and near it a hospice for strangers. At the hour of vespers they sing the office so loudly and well, that any one arriving there, and hearing such beautiful and various voices, would fancy himself in Paradise,—and this office they sing, each in his cell, so that the whole of the mountain appears at that moment one vast monastery. But on Saturday[1] and Sunday they meet for office in the church." *Palladius, in Rosw.*, lib. viii, p. 712; *Vite de' SS. PP.*, lib. ii, cap. 49.

"Furthest of all from Nitria, about a day and a night's journey distant, is the place called Scitis, to which there is no definite road, and one can only go by guidance of the stars. This is the place where the blessed Macarius resided. There is little water there, and it has an offensive smell, like bitumen, but is not so very bad in taste. In this place none abide except very perfect monks. They have much charity among themselves, and especially towards brethren who come to visit them. And let this suffice as an example. Some grapes being one day sent to Macarius, he immediately sent them to one who appeared to him more infirm than himself, and he, thanking God for the charity of Macarius, and thinking that his neighbour had greater need, carried them to him, and he to a third, and thus those grapes made the round of all the cells in that wilderness, no one knowing who had first brought them. And last of all, they came back to Macarius."—*Ruffinus, ut supra.*

[1] The respect paid by the Egyptian monks to Saturday, might seem a relic of that paid to the Sabbath by their predecessors, the Jewish Essenes. Hebrew names occur very frequently in the 'Vitæ Patrum.'

iii. *Of S. Hilarion.*

[Born A.D. 291, died 371. Disciple of S. Antony, and the founder of the Monastic Life in Syria and Palestine as his master had been in Egypt. Abridged from his life by S. Jerome, written before the year 392, *Opera*, tom. iv, part 2, col. 74 *sqq.*]

"HILARION was born at Thabatha, about five miles from Gaza, of heathen parents, a rose (as it were) among thorns. But being sent, while a boy, to Alexandria, and believing in Christ, and the name of Antony being then celebrated throughout Egypt, inflamed with the desire of seeing him, he journeyed to the wilderness, and abode with him for two months. And then, returning home, his parents being dead, he divided his substance between his brethren and the poor, reserving nothing for himself, fearing the punishment of Ananias and Sapphira, and mindful of the Lord's saying, 'Whoso forsaketh not all he hath, he cannot be my disciple.' Hilarion was then fifteen years old. And thus, naked, but armed in Christ, he retired into the wilderness which is on the left hand of those who go down into Egypt. All men wondered at his resolution; his cheeks were smooth, his body frail and delicate, and impatient of the least injury, pained by the slightest excess of cold or heat. Yet covering his limbs with sackcloth, and wearing a robe of skin, which the blessed Antony had given him at his departure, and a rough country cloak, he took possession of the vast and terrible solitude, eating only fifteen figs daily after the sun had gone down.

"What now shall the devil do? Whither shall he turn? He who boasted of old, 'I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God, I will be like the Most High,' beholds himself vanquished by a boy—trodden down by his heel, before, through his immature age, it is possible for him to sin!

"But in course of time, as Hilarion advanced in age, Satan addressed himself to his senses, filling him with evil thoughts of the pleasures of the flesh. Angry, therefore, with himself, and beating his breast, as if he could exclude thoughts by blows, he thus addressed his body,—'Ass that thou art, I will provide that thou kick not! I will feed thee, not with corn but with chaff! By hunger and by thirst will I wear thee out; with heavy burdens will I crush thee down; by heat and cold will I bring thee to think of food instead of wantonness!'

From this time, accordingly, fasting till the third or fourth day, he sustained fainting nature with the juice of herbs and a few figs, praying frequently, and singing psalms, and digging the ground with a spade, that the exercise of his hands might double that of his fasting. And at other times, weaving baskets with bulrushes, he emulated the discipline of the Egyptian monks and the sentence of the Apostle, who says, 'He that works not, let him not eat.' His body, meanwhile, through this discipline, became so wasted away, that it scarcely adhered to his bones.

"On a certain night he began to hear the crying of infants, the bleating of sheep, and lowing of cattle, the weeping as it were of women, the roaring of lions, the hollow tramp of an army, and portents, moreover, of various voices—devices of devils, tempting him by the terrors of sound before essaying those of sight. He recognised their sport, and prostrate on his knees, he marked the cross of Christ on his forehead, and armed with that helmet, and girt round with the breastplate of faith, stood boldly on his defence, desiring, if possible, to see those whom he was terrified to hear, and gazing hither and thither with anxious eyes. When, on a sudden, the moon shining brightly, he perceived a chariot and horses rush furiously upon him, but when he had called on Jesus, suddenly, before his eyes, all that pageant sunk into the earth, and disappeared. Then he cried, 'The horse and his rider hath he cast into the sea!' And 'Some put their trust in chariots and some in horses, but we will remember the name of the Lord our God!'

"Many were his temptations and the snares of the devils by night and day, all of which were I to rehearse, I should exceed the measure of my volume. How often women tempting him to sin, how often banquets, richly spread before him, in hunger! At one time, while praying, a howling wolf, at another a barking jackal leapt over him; and while singing psalms, a company of gladiators appeared and fought before him, one of whom falling before his feet, as if wounded to death, craved sepulture.

"On one occasion he was praying with his head fixed to the earth, and, as might befal any man, his thoughts having wandered from his prayer, he was dreaming I know not what, when his persecutor leapt upon his back, and spurring his sides, and beating his neck with a scourge, 'Ha, ha!' he cried,

'what, nodding?' and chuckling over him, he inquired, laughing, 'Whether he was faint, or would like a little barley?'

"Thus, from his sixteenth to his twentieth year, he sheltered himself from heat and rain in his little hut, which he had woven of bulrushes and sedge. He built afterwards a small cell, which exists even to the present day, four feet broad and five high, lower that is to say than his own stature, and in length little more than his body required, so that you would have thought it a sepulchre rather than the residence of a human being.

"Once only in the year did he poll his hair; he slept ever till his death on bulrushes strewed on the bare ground. He never washed the shirt which he had once put on, saying it was superfluous to study cleanliness in sackcloth. Nor did he change his tunic for another, till it was utterly in rags. And after prayers and psalms, having the Scriptures by heart, he recited them as if God were present. And since it would be tedious to declare by snatches, time after time, the progress of his ascension, I will briefly sum it up here, before the reader's eyes, and will then return to the order of narration.

"From his twenty-first year, therefore, till his twenty-seventh he ate daily, during the three first years, half a sextarium[1] of pulse moistened with cold water, and during the three last, dry bread, with salt and water. Then, from the twenty-seventh to the thirtieth, he supported himself on wild herbs and the raw roots of certain young shrubs. From his thirty-first to his thirty-fifth year, he ate six ounces of barley-bread and potherbs, only half cooked and without oil. But finding his eyes wearing dim and his whole body contracted and crusted with a rough dry tetter, he added oil to the above-mentioned food, and till his sixty-third year persevered in this degree of continence, tasting neither fruit nor pulse, nor anything else whatsoever. And from his sixty-fourth to his eightieth year, finding himself spent in body, and thinking death near at hand, he abstained from bread, with incredible fervour of mind, in order that from the winter of life, when men are wont to live less rigorously, he might go, fresh as if from spring, to the service of the Lord. During these latter years a little broth was made for him, of meal and a few herbs chopped, both food and drink scarcely weighing five ounces. And constant in his life's orbit, he never broke his fast, either on feast days or in

[1] About three quarters of a pint.

his extremest weakness, before sunset. But it is time that I resume my purpose.

* * * *

"He had now passed twenty-two years in solitude, and his fame was celebrated throughout Palestine, when a certain woman of Eleutheropolis, who had been married fifteen years without issue, and was held in contempt by her husband in consequence, first dared to break in upon him, and when he least expected it, threw herself on her knees before him, and said, 'Pardon my boldness, pardon my necessity! Why turnest thou away thine eyes, why fleest thou from me, a suppliant? Look not on me as a woman, but as a wretch in misery! Christ was born of a woman! It is not the whole but the sick that need a physician.' At length he stopped, and (not having seen a woman for such a length of time) asked the cause of her coming and of her weeping. And learning it, lifting his eyes to heaven, he bade her have faith, and accompanying her departure with his tears, he saw her after a year blessed with a son. This was the beginning of his miracles.

* * * *

"Facidia is a little village, dependent on Rhinocolura, a city of Egypt. And a woman of this village, after having been ten years blind, was brought to the blessed Hilarion, and being presented to him by the brethren (for many monks were now abiding with him), she said she had spent all her substance on physicians. To whom he answered, 'If thou hadst given to the poor that which thou hast thrown away on physicians, the true Physician would have healed thee.' But she calling upon him, and imploring his pity, he spat into her eyes, and immediately she received her sight.

* * * *

"Orion, a man of the chiefest and richest of the city Aila, which stands close upon the Red Sea,[1] was brought unto him, possessed of a legion of devils. His hands, neck, sides and feet were loaded with irons, and his eyes rolled with fury. And while the Saint was walking with the brethren, and interpreting I know not what passage of Scripture, Orion burst from his keepers, and clasping him from behind, lifted him up.

[1] That is, on its N. Eastern prong, where some ruins still remain of it near the Turkish fortress, Akaba. Its progress through decadence to annihilation is sketched by Dr. Robinson in his most valuable and interesting 'Researches in Palestine,' tom. i, p. 251.

And all present cried out, fearing lest he should crush his limbs, wasted with fasting. But the Saint, smiling, said, 'Be silent, and leave me my antagonist (palæstritam).' And so, turning back his hand over his shoulders he touched his head, and taking hold of his hair, drew him before his feet, and then, holding tightly both his hands, opposite him, and treading on his feet with each of his, and at the same time repeating again and again that the crowd of devils must be punished (while Orion cried out loudly, and his neck being turned backwards, the crown of his head touched the earth), 'Lord Jesu,' he prayed, 'relieve this wretch, release this captive! It is as easy for thee to vanquish many as one!' And, behold, a thing unheard of! many divers voices issued from one man's mouth, and there was heard as it were the confused clamour of a multitude. And thus Orion was cured.

* * * *

"He detested, especially, such monks as, through want of faith, lay up for the future, and take thought either for food or raiment, or anything else which perishes with the using. One of the brethren, living about five miles from him, he had driven from his sight because he found him too careful and anxious a keeper of his little garden, and because he had a little store of money. Who, wishing to propitiate him, frequently visited the brethren, and especially Hesychius, who was greatly beloved by Hilarion. On a certain day, this monk had presented to Hesychius a basket of green cresses, the earliest of the season. Which when Hesychius had placed on the table at supper, Hilarion exclaimed that he could not endure its evil odour, and at the same time inquired whence it came. And Hesychius answering, that a certain brother had presented it to the brethren as the first-fruits of his little field, 'Perceive you not,' he said, 'the abominable stench, and that avarice stinks in those herbs? Give them to the oxen, offer them to brutes, and see whether they will eat of them.' And when Hesychius placed them in the manger, the oxen, terrified and lowing louder than usual, burst their halters and fled in different directions. For Hilarion had this grace, that he knew from the smell of the body or the raiment of any one, or from that of the things he had touched, to what devil or to what vice he was subject.

* * * *

"When Hilarion had thus lived for two years, sorrowing

at the honours paid him and the interruption of his solitude, and being in the sixty-fifth year of his age, Aristæneta, the wife of the prefect, came to him, wishing to visit Antony. To whom he replied, weeping, 'I too would fain go, were the journey now worth the pains, but this is the second day that the whole world has been deprived of its parent.' She believed his word, and stayed. And, in a few days, she heard by a messenger that Antony had fallen asleep.

"And now still greater multitudes flocking to him, and being studious of nothing but solitude, and having procured an ass, being so worn with fasting that he could hardly walk, he determined to depart. Which being noised abroad, more than ten thousand souls, of every age and sex, assembled to detain him. But he attested solemnly, that he would neither eat nor drink unless they let him go. And prevailing, after seven days' fast, and bidding them farewell, he journeyed, with an infinite crowd following him, to Bethulia, where, having persuaded them to return home, he chose forty monks, who could travel fasting till after sunset. And on the fifth day he reached Pelusium, and after visiting the brethren who lived in the neighbouring desert and in the place which is named Lychnos, he reached, after three days more, the castle Theubatum (Thaubastum), that he might see Dracontius, bishop and confessor, who was there in exile. And leaving him incredibly consoled by the presence of such a man, after three days more, with much exertion, he reached Babylon,[1] and after staying there three days, he came to the city Aphroditopolis, whence conducted by a deacon, stationed there with horses and camels for the transport of such as came to visit Antony, he proceeded three days further through the vast and horrible wilderness, till he reached the lofty mountain on which Antony had dwelt.[2] And he found two monks there,

[1] Of Egypt, over the site of which the modern Cairo extends.

[2] That is to say, during his latter years, having quitted Nitria in consequence of its propinquity to Babylon and Alexandria. There is still a monastery there, named after him Mar Antonios, on the Western face of Gebel Kolzim, the mountain range which bounds the Red Sea on the side of Egypt. Pococke has given some particulars and a plan of it, from a map he procured in Egypt, tom. i, p. 128. But there is a much fuller and very interesting description of it in Vansleb's 'Present State of Egypt,' etc. 1678, pp. 177 *sqq*. There is another monastery, of the same name, on the banks of the Nile, near the site of old Aphroditopolis, the monks of which swim off to the traveller's boat, as he passes, to offer him fish, and beg for alms. In Nitria too, now called Natroun, monasteries still subsist.

Isaac and Pelusian, of whom the former had been interpreter to Antony in his converse with the Greeks.[1]

"It was a rocky and lofty mountain, about a mile in circuit; waters rose at its roots, part of which the sand drank in, and part flowing downwards by little and little formed a river, on either side of which grew palm-trees innumerable, adding much to the pleasantness and commodity of the place. And now you might see the aged Hilarion wander hither and thither with the disciples of the blessed Antony. 'Here,' they said, 'he sang psalms, there he prayed; here he worked, there, when weary, he was accustomed to repose. These vines, these trees he himself planted—that little garden he fenced in and tended with his own hands. Much was the trouble this little reservoir cost him—And this is his spade, which for many a year he used in digging!' They took him to Antony's couch, and he kissed it, as if still warm. It was a cell no broader than a man could sleep in. And besides this, on the summit of the mountain, ascending as if by a stair in the rocks, and most difficult of access, were to be seen two other cells, of the same dimensions, in which he ofttimes took refuge from the crowds of visitors and the company even of his own disciples. These, indeed, were cut in the living rock, and had only doors added to them. And when they came to the garden, 'Observe,' said Isaac, 'this orchard set with saplings and green with herbs. Three years ago, when a herd of wild asses had wasted it, he ordered one of their leaders to stand still, and tapping its side with his staff, "Wherefore," said he, "dost thou eat of that thou hast not sown?" And since then, excepting the waters at which they come to quench their thirst, they have touched neither tree nor herb!' Furthermore, Hilarion begged that they would show him Antony's sepulchre. And they took him with them, but whether they shewed it to him or not is unknown. They had concealed it, it is said, by the command of Antony himself, lest Pergamius, who was very wealthy in those parts, should carry away the body to his villa, and build a Martyrium over it.

Returning therefore to Aphroditopolis, retaining only the two brethren with him, Hilarion remained in the neighbouring desert in such abstinence and solitude, that then first, as he said, he began to serve Christ.

[1] Antony only spoke the Coptic tongue. He was quite illiterate, although skilled intuitively (we are told) in the interpretation of Scripture.

* * * *

"And Hilarion being thus unable to abide there (in Sicily), and wishing to go to some barbarous nation, where his name and reputation might be unknown, Hesychius, his disciple, conducted him to Epidaurus, a city of Dalmatia,[1] where tarrying some days in a neighbouring field, he could not be hid. A dragon, of marvellous magnitude, which they call in Gentile speech a Boa, for that they are so large that they are wont to swallow oxen, had laid waste the whole province, and not only swallowed sheep and cattle, but husbandmen also and pastors, drawn to it by the attraction of its breath. And having commanded a funeral pile to be prepared, and offered prayer to Christ, he called the boa and commanded it to mount that heap of wood, and he then set fire to it. And thus, the whole population looking on, he consumed that monster.[2]

"And straightened whither he should betake himself, he prepared for a further flight, and with his heart bent on solitude, mourned that even when the tongue was silent miracles spoke of him. But at that moment the earthquake taking place, after the death of Julian, the sea transgressed her bounds and threatened a second deluge. Which the natives of Epidaurus perceiving, and dreading the destruction of their city through the rising of those mountain waves, they took the old man, and as if marching forth to battle, placed him on the shore. Who, after he had drawn three crosses on the sand, and stretched out his hands against the sea, it is incredible to what a height it towered up before him, and long raging, as if indignant at the check, by little and little subsided into itself. Epidaurus and all that region repeat this marvel to the present day, and mothers tell it to their children for its remembrance to posterity.

"This miracle was greatly noised abroad. Which the old man hearing, fled secretly by night, and sailed for Cyprus. And between Malea and Cythera,[3] pirates put off from the shore in chase of them,[4] and all on board began to weep and wail. But Hilarion, beholding the pirates from afar, smiled, and, turning to his disciples, said, 'O ye of little faith, why do ye fear? Are these more in number than Pharaoh's host? Yet

[1] According to some authorities the modern Budua, according to others Ragusa Vecchia.

[2] The boa is now (at least) extinct in Dalmatia.

[3] Cape S. Angelo and Cerigo.

[4] That coast bears still, or at least bore till very lately, a very bad reputation.

God willed it, and they were all drowned in the Red Sea.' He spoke thus, and still, with foaming prows, the pirate vessels bore down upon them, coming nearer and nearer, and were now within half a stone's throw. He then stood up on the prow of the ship, and stretched out his hand against them, and said, 'Suffice it to have come thus far!' And immediately the vessels of the pirates recoiled, and in spite of their oars, drove backwards, so that, although toiling with their utmost bodily efforts to come up to the ship, they were borne back to the shore much quicker than they had left it.

* * * *

"And after remaining at Paphos two years, ever meditating flight, he sent Hesychius to Palestine to salute the brethren. Who, returning in spring, persuaded him (being desirous of returning to Egypt) that he might dwell in great secrecy in a certain spot in the interior of that very island. He conducted him, accordingly, two miles inland from the sea, among secluded and rugged mountains, and where ascent, even on one's hands and knees, was scarcely possible, till they reached a place surrounded on every side by trees, and irrigated with waters, flowing from the brow of the hill, with a most pleasant garden and orchards (the fruit of which he never eat), and, moreover, adjacent to the ruin of a very ancient temple, from which (as he himself used to relate, and as his disciples bear witness) the voices of such innumerable devils resounded, both by night and day, that you would have thought them an army. At which being greatly delighted, as having enemies at hand to combat, he dwelt there for the space of five years, often congratulating himself that through the wildness of the district and the multitude of spirits that the people believed to haunt it, few or none either could or dared climb up to him.

* * * *

"And now, being eighty years old and approaching his end, and Hesychius being absent, Hilarion wrote a short epistle to him, in lieu of testament, bequeathing to him all his riches, to wit, the Gospel, his shirt of sackcloth, his hood and cloak. And many religious men came from Paphos to see him, and particularly when they heard he was about to migrate to the Lord and be freed from the chains of the flesh, and more especially a certain holy matron, named Constantia, whose son-in-law and daughter he had healed by anointing them with oil,—all of whom he adjured that they should not delay an

hour after his death, but bury him immediately in that same garden.

"And now but little warmth remained in his body, nor save mere consciousness did aught appear alive in him, when opening his eyes, he said, 'Depart, what fearest thou? Depart, my soul, why doubtest thou? Seventy years hast thou served Christ, and fearest thou death?' And with these words he yielded the spirit. And interring him immediately, they announced his burial before his death at Paphos.

"But after that the holy man, Hesychius, heard this, he came to Cyprus, and feigning a wish to live in that garden, after about ten months he stole the body. Which when Constantia heard, she immediately expired, proving her love for him by death. It had been her custom to pass her nights in his sepulchre, communing with him as if present, to the furtherance of her prayers."

iv. *Of S. John of Lycopolis.*

[To whom the Emperor Theodosius sent the embassy recorded by Gibbon, chap. 27. The two following visits are narrated by Ruffinus and Palladius, his contemporaries, and may be found in Rosweyde's 'Vitæ Patrum,' lib. ii, p. 451, and lib. viii, p. 739, or in the 'Vite de' SS. PP.' lib. i, cap. 43, and lib. ii, cap. 18.]

"This John dwelt in the wilderness which is beside the city of Lycopolis,[1] in the flank of a lofty mountain, but no one could enter to him, as he always kept the door locked, from his fortieth to his eightieth year, when I saw him; and he spoke to those who visited him through a little window.

"We were seven in number, monks, and he received us pleasantly, asking if there were any deacon among us, and though one of the seven concealed himself, as unwilling to be honoured, saying he did not merit it, the most holy John immediately that he saw him, pointed him out and said, 'Lo, this man is a deacon!' He was the youngest of us all, and wishing still to deny it, John took his hand and kissed it and said, 'Do not, my son, deny the grace of God, or fall by humility into falsehood.' And the young man confessing his error, and receiving benediction, John was about to retire, but

[1] Now Siout, in Upper Egypt or the Thebais. It is worth recollection that the name Thebais was given during the middle ages and till very recent times to the desert of Nitria and the district immediately South of Cairo.

one of our company having a tertian fever, prayed that he would heal him, to which John answered, 'Thou seekest to be relieved from that which is very useful to thee, for as the body is cleansed by soap, so is the soul by sickness.' And after he had discoursed to us at length on this subject, to satisfy the desire of that brother he blessed oil, and anointed him, and instantly he was perfectly cured. And then he commanded his disciples to prepare us food. And after we were sufficiently refreshed, we returned to him, and he, receiving us with cheerfulness of face, made us sit opposite the window from which he spoke, asking who we were, and whence we came, etc."—*Ruffinus, ut supra.*

"And hearing of the fame of John the hermit, who lived shut up in a cell on the mountain which hangs over the city Lycopolis, I parted from my companions and travelled thither. His cell was divided into three parts, in one of which he worked and ate, and in the other prayed. And in front of it was a very large vestibule, which might have contained an hundred men.[1] And there he dwelt, shut up, and never went out, but spoke through a little window to visitors, yet only on Saturdays and Sundays. On arriving there, I found the window shut, and learning the reason from his disciples, I waited patiently till the Saturday, and going in the morning I found him at the window, and saluting each other, he asked me by an interpreter whence I was and why I came, telling me that he supposed I was one of the company of Evagrius. And confessing that I was one of those brethren, at that moment there came to visit him the ruler of that province, by name Alypius, wherefore John, leaving me, began to speak with him, and I waited till he should go, and as he discoursed with him at great length I began to become impatient, judging John in my heart for having left me for the prince, although I had come first. Whereat being much displeased, I was thinking of going away without saying anything. But he, knowing my thoughts by the Spirit, called Theodorus, his interpreter, and desired him to bid me have patience, as the prince would soon be gone; and thus, seeing that he knew by the Spirit the thoughts of my heart, I was certain he was a perfect monk, and held him consequently in the greater

[1] The larger caves at present to be seen near Siout answer very closely to this description, and in one of them I remember scrambling into a small cell apparently built up long after the original excavation, and which fancy might easily fix upon as the scene of these singular interviews.

reverence. And after the prince had gone, he called me and said, 'Why hast thou done ill to thy soul in judging me thus? Remembrest thou not what Christ saith in the Gospel, that not the whole but the sick have need of a physician? Thou canst come to me any day, but that poor man is wholly given to the world and a subject of the evil one, and this is but a sorry hour that he hath stolen from that hard service, for the refreshment of his soul, and I should have done ill, surely, to have neglected him for thee, who live only for its edification.' After which, having requested his pardon, he told me much concerning my relations who had been converted, and that my father would live seven years longer, and, thereafter, added playfully, 'Should you like to be a bishop?'—which receiving as a jest, I answered, 'I was one already,' and asking, 'Where?' I answered, 'in kitchens and cellars, looking out for the best wine and the best victuals, and that this was my bishopric.'[1] But he answered, 'Let jests be; know for certain that thou shalt be a bishop, and have much trial and tribulation, but if thou wouldst avoid it, do not quit the desert.' And after this I returned to my cell in the desert of Nitria. And three days afterwards, being ill in the spleen and stomach, I went, at the solicitation of my friends and forgetting the advice of John, to seek medical advice at Alexandria, and thence, by the recommendation of my physicians, I proceeded to Palestine, because the air is excellent there, and from thence into Bithynia, where, I know not how, or by whose device, or by what judgment of God, but against my will I was made a bishop, and was in much tribulation afterwards, as John the hermit had foretold."—*Palladius, Hist. Laus., ut supra.*

v. *Of S. Macarius, S. Ammon, S. Serapion, and others, Monks and Anchorets.*[2]

[Abridged from the works of Ruffinus, Palladius, etc., in the old Italian collection of the 'Vite de' SS. Padri,' and Rosweyde's 'Vitæ Patrum.' —Several of the following anecdotes I have inserted rather as filling up the general picture of the ascetic life than as being individually picturesque, or subjects of representation in early Christian art.]

"Dorotheus, the monk, was a man of wonderful abstinence.

[1] A pun—in Greek nostrils.

[2] The Anchorets were distinguished from the monks, as living entirely in the remotest wildernesses, frequently without settled abode, and destitute of clothing—feeding on herbs, and

He never ate save an ounce of bread a day, with some herbs and a little water, nor did I ever see him lie down, or stretch his feet, or sleep, but he sat up continually all night long, weaving ropes of palm-leaves, and so leaning, as he sat, he would sleep for a little, but never long; and through his constant watching, the food would oftentimes fall from his mouth through drowsiness, as he ate. And this he did, saying, that as the angels never rest, but are continually praising God, so those should never rest who study to please him."—*Pall. Vite*, lib. ii, cap. 1; *Rosw.* lib. viii, p. 709.

"There lived in this desert a monk, by name John, who at his first coming to the wilderness, stood under a rock three years, continually praying and standing erect, and never once during that time lay down, and what little sleep he had he

regardless of heat and cold, so that, as described by Evagrius, "they at length became assimilated to wild beasts, with their outward form altogether disfigured, and their mind in a state no longer fitted for intercourse with their species, whom they even shun when they see them; and on being pursued, contrive to escape, favoured either by their swiftness of foot or by places difficult of access." —*Eccles. Hist.* book i, chap. 21. There was a third description of solitaries, frequently represented in Byzantine paintings, the 'Sancti Columnares,' or Pillar Saints, of whom Simeon, surnamed Stylites, who flourished in the fifth century, was the type and model. He commenced his career by living on a column four cubits high; after four years he mounted one of twelve, and twelve years afterwards a third of thirty—and began to work miracles. But the devil appearing to him with a chariot and steeds of fire, telling him that he was sent by God to carry him, like Elijah, to heaven, he lifted his left foot to mount, making the sign of the cross, when the whole vanished, and he stood thus a whole year on the column, on one foot, persevering till his thigh putrefied, with circumstances of suffering too horrible for translation. Some time afterwards, the column was raised to forty cubits, and he lived upon it the remaining sixteen years of his life. His life was written by one of his disciples named Antony, who tells us that he fed only once a week, and on bread or the roots of herbs, with water, and that he died in the attitude of prayer, and that during his burial the birds fluttered round his body, so that it seemed as if they grieved and lamented for him. See Rosw. lib. i, p. 170; and another account (with a description of the Church or Temple erected round the pillar, and the prodigies supposed to attend the commemoration of the Saint) in the Eccles. Hist. of Evagrius, book i, chap. 13, 14. This extravagant superstition seems to have been solely confined to the Oriental churches. An attempt was indeed made in the sixth century to introduce it at Treves in Germany, but the bishops interfered, and put it down peremptorily and for ever. See Mosheim, tom. ii, p. 44, and Guizot, *Hist. de Civ. en France*, tom. i, p. 410, where the original passage is cited from Gregory of Tours. Tennyson's poem entitled 'Simeon Stylites,' is no less valuable historically and psychologically than in a poetical point of view.

took standing, nor ever ate during all that time except when he communicated every Sunday. And through the length of time that he stood there, his feet rotted and stunk. And after the three years were completed, the angel of God came to him and said, 'The Lord our God hath heard thy prayers and healeth thy wounds.' And touching his feet and mouth, he made him whole, and filled him with divine wisdom."—*Pallad. Vite*, lib. i, cap. 63; *Rosw.* lib. viii, p. 755.

"And the Abbot Macarius said, 'Sitting in my cell in Scitis, my mind impelled me, saying, "Go into the desert, and consider what thou seest there." And after struggling against this for five years, thinking it might be a suggestion of devils, I went into the desert, and arrived at a great lake, with an island in the middle of it, and many beasts of the desert came there to drink, and along with them I espied two men naked, and supposing that they were spirits, I began to tremble, and seeing it, they said, "Fear not, for we are men as thou art;" and, asking them whence they had come and how they lived in that wilderness, they said they had been monks, and had come thither forty years before, the one being of Egypt the other of Libya,—and added, "God hath given us this grace, that we neither feel the cold of winter nor the heat of summer;" and it was in remembrance of them,' said Macarius, 'that I told you that I was not a monk.'"—*Vite, etc.* lib. iii, cap. 21; *Rosw.* lib. vi, p. 652.

"After Apollonius had lived forty years in the wilderness, exercising every virtue, a voice came to him from God and said, 'Apollonius, by thee I will confound the wisdom of the wise, and reprove the prudence of the prudent in Egypt and Babylon, and I will make thee powerful in word and deed, and I will cast down to the ground the worship of devils. Go forth then from thy solitude, and live among men, and by the virtue that I will give thee thou shalt gather unto me a peculiar people, zealous of good works.' To which voice he answered, 'Lord, take from me pride, that I glory not nor exalt myself above my brethren, and thus fall from thy grace.' And the voice answered and said, 'Put thy hand to thy neck and catch that which thou shalt find there and bury it in the

sand.' And, putting his hand to his neck, he caught as it were a fetid Ethiopian louse, and did what the voice had commanded him, and the louse, laughing at him, said, 'I am the devil of pride!' And the voice came again, saying, 'Go now in surety, for thou hast what thou hast asked of God.' And Apollonius went and dwelt in a cave near human habitations, living rather on celestial food than terrestrial, and in continual prayer, making genuflections one hundred times during the day, and as many at night, and working miracles innumerable. And this was in the time of the Emperor Julian, the Apostate."—*Pallad. Vite*, lib. i, cap. 48; *Rosw.* lib. ii, p. 460.

"A disciple of the Abbot Bessarion journeying with him one day along the sea-shore, thirsted greatly, and said, 'O father, I die of thirst!' And he commanded him to drink the sea-water, and he did so, and finding it sweet, he filled his flask with it. And the Abbot seeing this, asked him wherefore he did so, and he answered, 'Father, lest I thirst again.' And he said, 'God pardon thee, my son! for thou oughtest to believe that God can give thee sweet water anywhere.'"—*Ruffin. Vite*, lib. iii, cap. 12; *Rosw.* lib. iii, p. 532, and p. 649.

"A solitary lived at twelve miles' distance from the well, and wearied at last with his many journeys, said within himself, 'I will build me a cell nearer the water.' And, turning round, he saw one who followed him, and asking who he was, he answered, that he was the angel of God, sent to number his steps and recompense him according to his toil. Whence he was strengthened in spirit, and became so fervent in well-doing that he removed his dwelling full four miles further from that water."—*Vite*, lib. iii, cap. 38.

"A holy father sent his disciple to draw water from a well at a great distance from his cell, and the disciple forgot the rope. And reaching the well, and perceiving that he had nothing to draw with, he was grieved and perplexed, for to stay there was loss of time, and he feared the Abbot's displeasure if he returned without the water. So, being beset

with difficulty on all sides, he had recourse to prayer, and with many tears threw himself on the ground and prayed, saying, 'Have pity on me and counsel me, O God Omnipotent! who madest heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that in them is! Aid me, for the sake of thy servant, my abbot, who hath sent me.' And rising with great fervour he cried, 'O well, well! the servant of God, my abbot, sendeth for water.' And immediately the water rose up to the mouth of the well, and he filled the pitcher, and departed, glorifying the power of the Saviour; and the water returned to its place."—*Ruffin. Vite*, lib. iii, cap. 86; *Rosw.* lib. iii, p. 502, and p. 651.

"The holy Macarius, sitting one day in his cell, and feeling himself bitten in the foot by a gnat, put his hand to the place and found the gnat and killed it, and seeing its blood, he blamed himself, as it seemed to him that he had revenged himself for the injury received; for which thing, and in order to learn meekness, he went into the utmost solitude of the wilderness called Scitis, where those gnats are largest and most venomous, and lived there for six months, naked, to be stung by them, and at the end of that time he returned so disfigured and wounded that he was unrecognisable save by his voice, being swelled all over with boils and blisters, so that he had lost all shape, and appeared leprous."—*Vite, etc.* lib. i, cap. 71.

"A monk was in the habit of coming to the cell of a holy solitary, and secretly stealing his food, and although the latter knew it, still, in order to subdue himself, he made as if he perceived him not, and exerted himself to work more diligently in order to procure himself food, thus reasoning with himself, 'God hath sent me aforetime that which I needed, and this brother too will be a blessing to me.' And having sustained this tribulation a long time, his strength failed, and he was dying. And many brethren stood around, looking upon him, and seeing among them the brother who had for so long a time stolen his bread, he called him to him, and kissed his hands, and said before them all, 'I render thanks to these hands, my brethren, for by means of them I trust to enter paradise.' Which hearing and understanding, that brother took shame to himself and was touched with remorse, and

changed to good, and did heavy penance for his sins, and became a perfect monk, through the example of the foresaid holy father."—*Vite*, lib. iii, cap. 100.

"There was an old hermit who drank so much that he was frequently drunk, and what he gained during the day he spent in the evening in wine, and he made a mat every day. And there came to live with him a hermit who was also a skilful workman, and made every day a mat,—and the drunken hermit took it from him, and sold both mats, and spent the price in wine, and gave his companion nothing but a little bread in the evening. And this going on for three years, that hermit was so patient that he never remonstrated nor murmured. And after three years he said to himself, 'Lo! I am in rags, and have scarcely aught to eat; I will depart, and live with some other brother.' But in a little he thought better of it and said, 'Yet whither shall I go? I have endured this life hitherto for the love of God,—I had better persevere and have patience,' and he determined to stay. And immediately the angel of God appeared to him and said, 'Do not go hence, but be comforted, for to-morrow we will come for thee.' And believing the angel's words, he said to his companion, that drunken hermit, 'Stay at home to-morrow, brother, for the angels are to come for me.' And when the hour arrived when that hermit was wont to go to fetch the wine, he said, 'I do not think the angels will come for thee to-day, as thou sayest.' But the other said, 'Be certain that they will;' and while he yet spake, without pain, the soul parted from his body, and the angels carried it to heaven. And seeing it, that old and drunken brother began to weep bitterly and said, 'Alas my brother! I have lost many years by my negligence.' And he became from thenceforth sober and good."—*Vite*, lib. iii, c. 16.

"Macarius once went to visit Antony in the mountain, and knocking at the door, Antony opened to him and asked, 'Who art thou?' He answered, 'I am Macarius;' and Antony, to prove him, shut the door and left him without, as if holding him in contempt, till, considering his patience, he opened and admitted him joyfully, saying, 'Long have I heard of thy

fame and desired to see thee.' And then he made ready and they ate together in charity. And in the evening Antony wetted certain palm-leaves, to weave baskets with, and Macarius asked him for some likewise, to work along with him, and thus sitting and discoursing of things useful to the soul, they made a mat of those leaves, and Antony, seeing that what Macarius had woven was well done, kissed his hands and said, 'Much virtue issues forth of these hands, my brother!'"—*Vite*, lib. iii, cap. 18.

"There were two ancient hermits who dwelt together and never quarrelled. At last one said to the other, simply, 'Let us have a quarrel, as other men have.' And the other answering that he did not know how to quarrel, the first replied, 'Look, here I will place this stone in the midst between you and me; I will say it is mine, and do you say that that is not true, but that it is yours—and in this manner we will make a quarrel.' And placing the stone in the midst, he said, 'This stone is mine!' And the other said, 'No, it is mine!' And the first said, 'It is not yours, I say, but mine!' And the other said, 'If it be yours, then, take it.' And in short, they could by no means contrive to quarrel, being so much accustomed to peace."—*Vite*, lib. iii, cap. 102.

"On a certain time Macarius was journeying from Scitis, and entered into a tomb to sleep, where many bodies of pagans were buried, and placing one of them under his head as a pillow,[1] the devils wished to frighten him, and one of them called out the name of a woman who was buried there, and said, 'Dame Such-a-one! come with me to the bath!' And another devil answered from the body on which Macarius lay, 'I have a traveller lying upon me and cannot get away!' But, for all that, Macarius was not frightened nor disturbed, but he held the body fast and answered, 'Get up and go if you can!' Which seeing, the devils cried with a great voice, 'Thou hast conquered us!' and fled."—*Vite*, lib. iii, cap. 21.

"And the devil one day knocked at his door and said, as

[1] Probably a mummy.

if he had been a monk, 'Get up, Macarius! and let us go to the Church, for the brethren are assembled.' And Macarius, recognising him, said, 'O liar, and enemy of truth! what hast thou to do with the assembly of the brethren?' And the devil, perceiving himself discovered, answered, 'Knowest thou not that the brethren never meet but we are among them?' Macarius answered, 'God guard us from thee!' And he prayed to God, to show him whether this was true that the enemy had boasted. And, rising up, he went to the congregation, and found them performing a certain office; and, praying again, he perceived little children, as black as Ethiops, running hither and thither among the brethren throughout the church. It is the custom for one monk to stand in the midst by himself, and sing or say the psalm, and the others sit round listening, and from time to time responding. And Macarius saw the little devils busily at work among the monks that sat; on some they put their fingers on their eyes, and made them fall asleep; others they touched on the mouth, and made them yawn; and to others they presented divers forms and images, illusions of the fancy; and by a few only, as more perfect, were they driven away and beaten back. And after the office, he called each monk apart, and revealed to him what he had seen of the delusions of the enemy, and they confessed that such had been their thoughts. And ever after he retained the power of seeing and knowing the illusions of the wicked one in the hearts of the brethren at the hour of prayer."—*Ruffin. Vite*, lib. i, cap. 65; *Rosw.* lib. ii, p. 481.

"S. Helenus once came to a monastery on the Lord's-day, and seeing that the brethren did not keep the feast, he asked the reason, and they answered that the priest, who lived on the other side of the river, was afraid to pass on account of a crocodile that had appeared there. And Helenus said, 'If you will, I will go and bring him.' And going to the river, and invoking the name of God, behold the crocodile came to the river side very meekly, and bending itself that he might step on its back, it carried him to the other side. And Helenus went to the priest, and prayed him to come and say the office, and the priest, wondering at his having crossed, and asking how, accompanied him to the river; and Helenus calling the crocodile, it came as before, and presented its back

that he might step upon it. And Helenus, mounting first, invited the priest to follow, but the latter fled, and Helenus recrossed by himself, many monks looking on; and when he had reached the shore, he turned to the crocodile and said, 'It is better for thee to die than to live here, killing men;' and having said this, the beast fell to the earth, dead, and thereafter the priest and others were able to cross without hindrance."—*Ruffin. Vite*, lib. i, cap. 58; *Rosw.* lib. ii, p. 470.

"The Abbot Ammon, going to the well to draw water, saw a basilisk, and throwing himself on his face he cried, 'Lord, either I must die, or this basilisk!' And instantly the basilisk died."—*Ruffin. Vite*, lib. iii, p. 532; *Rosw.* lib. iii, cap. 17.

"Paphnutius, the servant of God, related to me, that one day, while Macarius prayed to God, a hyena brought him a cub, which was blind, and laid it at his feet. And Macarius, taking up the cub, and spitting on its eyes, prayed to God, and it received its sight. And the mother departed with it, and on the following day brought Macarius the skin of a large sheep. But Macarius, seeing it, said, 'Whence hast thou this, except by devouring thy neighbour's sheep? I cannot take aught from thee that comes of robbery.' The hyena bent her head, and knelt at the feet of the saint, and laid down the skin. And he continued, 'I accept it not, unless thou swear never henceforward to injure the poor by eating their sheep.' And the hyena nodded her head in assent, and then Macarius accepted the skin."—*Pallad.*, *Rosw.* lib. viii, p. 749.

"A brother demanded of a holy father, and said, 'My sister is very poor,—if I give her alms, is it not as if I gave it to others?' And he answered, 'No, because carnal affection induceth thee to it.'"—*Vite*, lib. iii, cap. 41.

"The sister of the monk Pior having been left a widow with two children, she sent them into the desert to enquire after him, and having visited many monasteries, with great trouble they discovered his cell and told him that they were his nephews, sons of his sister, and that she wished to see

him before her death, and entreated that he would go to her. But Pior refusing to hear of any such thing, they went to the blessed Antony, and told him their motive for coming and their uncle's answer. And Antony bade him go visit his sister. And taking a monk as his companion, he went to his sister, and standing outside the house near the door, he shut his eyes that he might not see her, and called out, 'Here am I, Pior, thy brother.' And she, running out, threw herself at his feet with great joy, but he would not look at her, nor return her caresses, but after staying there a little and allowing her to look at him, returned to his cell. And this he did, to give example to other monks not to take thought of visiting their relatives."—*Ruffin. Vite*, lib. iii, cap. 89; *Rosw.* lib. ii, p. 504.

"One day the mother of Pastor and Anub went to visit them in the desert, and stationed herself by the wayside that she might see them as they went to the church. But they, perceiving her, shut themselves up in their cell, and fastened the door. And standing at the door she wept. And Pastor said to her, 'Woman, why weepest thou?' And she answered, 'I wish to see you, my children! What harm can there be in it, I that am your mother, an old woman and gray-haired?' And Pastor said, 'If thou patiently endurest not to see us in this life, we shall see each other in the next.' And strengthened by these words, she answered, 'If in very deed I shall see you in the life to come, be it so, and I will see you no more in this.' And she went her way comforted."—*Vite*, lib. iii, cap. 11.

"A rich and noble virgin, and of mature years, hearing of the fame of Arsenius,[1] came to Alexandria to see him, and being honourably welcomed by the bishop Theophilus, she prayed him that he would entreat Arsenius to receive and speak to her. Wherefore the bishop went to him and said, 'A rich and distinguished lady is come from Rome to see thee and beg thy blessing, wherefore I pray thee to receive her kindly.' And Arsenius refusing to see her, she made ready her horses and rode to the desert, thinking and saying,

[1] He was a Roman, and had been preceptor to the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius, sons of Theodosius. He lived fifty years in solitude after his retreat to the desert.

'I trust in God that I shall see this holy man, for God knoweth well that I do not come to see him for that he is a man, for I have seen many such at Rome, but as a prophet and friend of God.' And, with this zeal, coming to the cell of Arsenius, it chanced, by the will of God, that she found him at once, outside the cell, and she threw herself at his feet with her face to the ground. But Arsenius admonished her to rise immediately, and said, in order to make her ashamed, 'If thou desirest to see my face, stand up and look at me.' At which thing being confused, she dared not lift up her eyes, and Arsenius continued,—'Hast thou not heard even at Rome of my works? What need was there for thee to come hither? How hast thou been so bold as to come to me thus? Knowest thou not that thou art a woman and shouldst stay at home? And now thou wilt go back to Rome, and boasting that thou hast seen Arsenius, many will come hither to me, after thy example.' But she answered, 'If God permit me to return, I will not allow any to trouble thee, and I ask nothing of thee except thy prayers to God, and that thou wilt retain me in thy memory.' Arsenius answered, 'I pray God that he may drive thee quickly out of my memory!' With which words she was so troubled that, returning to the city, she fell ill with grief, and the bishop coming to see her, and learning the cause of her illness, and seeing that she was like to die of that sorrow, he consoled her and said, 'Thou knowest that thou art a woman, and, for that the devil is wont to trouble the saints by the remembrance of women, therefore is it that he prayed God to take thee out of his memory,—but be assured of it, that he will pray God continually for thy soul.' With which words being much consoled and comforted, she returned to Rome."—*Vite*, lib. iii, cap. 10; *Rosw.* lib. v, p. 564.

"Serapion, a perfect monk, full of every virtue, a man of admirable abstinence, and who had sold himself repeatedly as a slave, in order to give the price to the poor and convert his masters, travelling to Rome, and hearing that there lived there a holy virgin, who had shut herself up, and never spoke to any one, went to her cell, and speaking to her attendant, bade her go to her mistress and say that it was necessary that he should see her. And the maid answering that it was many years that she had spoken to no one, 'Go, tell her,' he repeated,

'that God hath sent me to speak to her.' And he urged this with such importunity, that on the third day she consented to see him. And when he entered, he said to her, 'Why sittest thou?' And she answered, 'I do not sit but walk.' And he said, 'Whither walkest thou?' She answered, 'To God.' Serapion asked, 'Art thou alive or dead?' She replied, 'I trust in God that I am dead to the world, for whoso liveth according to the flesh cannot go to God.' Serapion answered, 'If thou wishest me to believe this, come out, and do as I do.' She answered, 'Command me what I may do, and I will do it.' He replied, 'Everything is possible to one that is dead to the world, except impiety.' And he added, 'Come out with me, and thou shalt discover whether thou art indeed dead.' She replied, 'Twenty and five years have I been shut up here; why then wishest thou that I should now go out?' He answered, 'Hast thou not just told me that thou art dead to the world? If thou be so, as thou sayest, what is it to thee whether thou go out or stay at home? For the dead neither feel nor care for anything. Come, I say! and prove thyself.' And then the virgin went out with him, and they went together to a church, and there Serapion said to her, 'If thou wouldst make me believe for certain that thou art dead to the world, and carest not to please it, do as I will do,—strip thyself naked and take thy clothes on thy shoulders, and follow after me through the city; I shall be as naked as thou, and do thou neither care nor think shame of it any more than I will.' She answered, 'The people will be scandalized and will think me mad or possessed with devils.' And Serapion answered, 'What is that to thee that art dead to the world? The dead care not for the scoffs or calumnies of the living; they neither hear nor feel.' The virgin answered and said, 'I pray thee to command me something else, and truly I confess that I am not thus far mortified.' Then Serapion answered, 'Go thy way then, sister mine! and boast no longer that thou art dead to the world or holier than others, thou that livest still to the world and fearest to displease men—I am more dead to the world than thou!'[1] And thus having reproved her pride and edified her in humility, he departed

[1] "Those who walk," in aspiration towards God, longing and standing on the brink, but not yet submerged in the Ocean of Annihilation, form the second class or rank among the Sooffee mystics; Serapion evidently considered himself of the higher class of the "perfect," and of that division of it who are charged with perfecting others. The closer the

from her. And at the end of seventy years he departed this life, and was buried in the desert."—*Pallad. Vite*, lib. ii, cap. 19; *Rosw.* lib. viii, p. 762.

"There came, on a time, two youths to the Abbot Macarius, and one of them was well instructed, and the other a beginner only, and throwing themselves at his feet, they prayed that he would let them live with him. And seeing them to be very delicate of body, he did not believe that they could endure the desert, wherefore he said to them, 'My brethren, it will be too hard for you,' and they answered, 'Then what will become of us?' And Macarius thought within himself and said, 'If I abandon them, perchance it will turn to their fall; I had better receive them, and tell them to make themselves a cell.' And so doing, they were very glad, and besought him to show them where they might make it, and to prove them he took them to a great rock, and bade them hollow and cut it out sufficiently, and cover it in with wood from the marsh. And this he did, thinking that they would find it too difficult, and so depart, but, fervent in spirit, they promised to do all, and did it. And asking for some employment, he showed them how to make ropes, telling them that they might sell them and buy such things as they wanted. And he departed from them, and they remained together, doing well and wisely whatever was commanded them.

"And Macarius, seeing them continually increasing from good to better, and being much in the church in prayer, became desirous to know how their works were accepted by God; wherefore he fasted all the week, and prayed God that he would show him their works. And, after his prayer, he went to their cave, and knocked at the entrance, and they, opening and seeing him, made him reverence and threw themselves at his feet, and, after prayer, they sat down, and the elder beckoned the younger, and he went out, and the elder remained, twisting his rope, and spoke not till the ninth hour, when the younger that had gone out knocked at the door. And it being opened, he entered with food, and at the sign

examination, the more will the resemblance appear between every description of Asceticism, both in principle and development. For the fullest description of these "perfect" Christian ascetics see Evagrius, book i, chap. 21.

of the elder, laid the table with three loaves,[1] and said nothing. And when they had eaten, they said to Macarius, 'Wilt thou depart, father, or stay?' And he answered, that he wished to rest there, and they laid a mat in one corner that he might sleep, and they laid themselves down in another, and the Abbot Macarius prayed God that he would show him their works, and behold, it appeared as if the roof of the cell opened, and there shone there a light as of noonday, which he only saw, and those two youths, believing that Macarius slept, addressed themselves to prayer. And Macarius watched attentively, and saw many devils, like flies, attempting to enter the mouth and fix on the eyes of the younger brother, but the angel of God, armed with a sword of fire, defended him and drove them off, but those devils could in no-wise approach the elder. And when it was near day they returned for a little to their bed, and Macarius made sign of waking and rising, and they did the like, as if aroused from a long slumber. And the elder said to Macarius, 'Wilt thou, father, that we chant the twelve psalms, according to usage?' And he answered 'Yes,' and began to sing, and it appeared that at every verse a flame of fire issued from the mouth of the younger and shot up to heaven, and as often as the elder opened his mouth, there issued, as it were, a torch, and went to heaven. And when the psalms were ended, Macarius took leave of them, beseeching them to pray for him; but they, saying nothing, fell at his feet, and commended themselves to his prayers. And Macarius, considering what he had seen, perceived that the elder was already perfect in the fear of God, but that the younger was still buffeted by devils. And a few days afterwards, the elder brother was received into peace, and on the third day thereafter the younger followed him."—*Ruffin. Vite,* lib. iii, cap. 21; *Rosw.* lib. iii, p. 528.

"A secular man wishing, on the death of his wife, to leave the world, commended his little daughter, Marina, to a relation, and entered a monastery, and behaved so well that the Abbot loved him better than any other of the brotherhood. And after a while, bethinking himself of his daughter, and longing much for her, he became very melancholy, and the Abbot asked him, 'What is it, my son? tell me freely, and

[1] "Paximatia"—twice baked, and hard.

God can give thee comfort through me.' And he threw himself at his feet, weeping, and said, 'I have a son in the city, and I greatly long for him.' And the Abbot replied, 'If you love him, send for him, and I will take him as a monk.' And he went to the city, and changed his daughter's apparel, and brought her to the monastery as a boy, and gave her the name of Marinus, and taught her to read, and when she was fourteen years of age he instructed her in the commandments of God and the way of Christ, and especially warned her that she should let no one know her sex till death. And when she was seventeen, her father died, and she remained alone in his cell, keeping his commandments and doctrine, and was so obedient and virtuous that the Abbot and all the brethren loved her.

"And that monastery had a yoke of oxen and a cart, with which the Abbot frequently sent Marina to a man who lived on the seashore about three miles distant, in order to receive goods from him for the use of the monastery. And this man had a daughter, who fell into sin, so that she became with child, and the father, discovering it, was much grieved, and enquired of her how this had come to pass. And she, instigated by the devil, accused Brother Marinus, and the father and mother went to the Abbot to complain of him. And the Abbot, unable to credit it, knowing the sanctity of Marina, sent for her, and enquired whether this accusation were true. And, hearing it, Marina refrained herself and made no excuse, but began to weep, and answered, 'Father, I have sinned, and am ready to do penance.' And the Abbot, very wroth, and persuaded that the accusation was true, commanded her to be severely scourged, and said, 'This monk shall stay here no longer.' And he sent her away.

"But Marina humbly endured it all, and said nothing, but abode at the gate, outside the monastery, lying on the ground and weeping, as if she had sinned,—and she lived on the alms which were distributed at the gate. And when the daughter of that man had brought forth her child, and weaned him, her mother took it to Marina and said, in anger, 'There, brother Marinus, take your child, and be a father to it.' And Marina received it humbly, and brought it up, feeding it on the alms that were given at the gate.

"And after enduring this penance for several years, with much patience and humility, the other monks, moved with

pity, went to the Abbot, and said, 'Father, forgive brother Marinus, and let him come back into the monastery. It is now, as thou knowest, five years that he has done penance at the gate, nor hath he once quitted it. Do therefore unto him as Christ commandeth shall be done to the sinner that repenteth.' And with much difficulty, after many prayers, they persuaded the Abbot, and brought Marina in.

"And the Abbot said to her, 'Thy father was a good man, and brought thee here when a little child, nor hath any one in this monastery transgressed as thou hast done. And now, at the prayers of these brethren, I receive you back with your child, the offspring of sin, wherefore know thy fault, and bethink thee how great it is, and what need there is that thou do severe penance,—and I take thee solely on this condition, that thou alone sweep and clean the monastery, and fetch water, and mend all the clothes and shoes of the brethren,—and in this manner thou mayst regain my favour.'

"And Marina, doing all these things, died a few days afterwards. And hearing of her death, the Abbot said, 'Ye see now what a sin this man hath committed, that God hath not vouchsafed to receive him to penance. Yet go and bury him, for pity's sake, only apart from the others, and at a distance from the monastery.' And preparing to wash the body before burial, they found that she was a woman, and all of them began to weep for sorrow, thinking of the afflictions she had endured, and saying, 'Such holiness and penitence were never heard of!' And they came and told the Abbot, and he trembled exceedingly, and was very sorrowful, and prayed, 'Oh blessed and most holy soul, I adjure and pray thee, by our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou contend not with me, in the sight of God, at the day of judgment!'

"And, hearing of these things, all who dwelt in that country came together, with great reverence, and they buried her in the cemetery of the monks, within the monastery, and many miracles were afterwards done there through her merits."—*Auct. Incerto. ap. Rosw.* lib. i, p. 393 ; *Vite*, lib. iv, cap. 42.

"When the Abbot Abraham was already very old, his brother, a secular and very rich, died, and their relations brought him his brother's daughter, a child of seven years old, by name Mary, and left her with him, to bring her up as

he should think fit. And Abraham made a cell for her beside his own, and taught her the psalter and other Scriptures through the little window that opened between their cells, and brought her up in the way and fear of God. And she grew in age and health and goodness, and studied to imitate her uncle in abstinence and in every perfection, singing with him the psalms and praises of God. And Abraham continually prayed God for her, that he would wean her heart from every earthly affection, and that she might never remember nor think of the riches that her father had bequeathed to her, and which he (Abraham) had immediately distributed to the poor, to relieve himself and her from such cares and temptations. And most especially did Abraham pray God for her, that He would guard and deliver her from the temptations of the enemy.

"But after many years, when Mary was grown up, the devil put the thought of her into the heart of a youth who dwelt in that desert as a hermit, and was accustomed to visit Abraham, but chiefly in order that he might see Mary. And he found means to speak with her, and the enemy availing himself of this temptation, after about a year she yielded and fell. And coming to herself, and remembering from what height and purity of life she was fallen, despair settled upon her, and not knowing what to do, she wept most bitterly, and was ashamed to look upon her uncle, and so fled, and went to another part of the country, and dwelt there, sinning yet more, and that habitually.

"And the same night that Mary sinned, Abraham, knowing nothing of it, had a dream. He beheld a dragon, very horrible and fierce, and loudly hissing, enter his cell, where it seemed to him that there was a beautiful dove, as white as snow, which the dragon swallowed up, and then returned to the cave whence he had come forth. And awaking, much saddened with this vision, he wept, imagining that the dragon signified the devil, who was to do evil to the church, as he understood the dove to mean; and, throwing himself on his knees, he prayed, 'Do thou, O Lord! who knowest everything, instruct me what this vision signifies.' And after two days, he saw again in his dream that dragon enter his cell, and it lay down at his feet, and clove asunder and died, and it appeared as if the dove that it had devoured came to life again, and he put forth his hand and took it. And awaking, and marvelling that his niece had not opened the window

these two days, he called to her, and no one answering, and remembering that for two days he had neither heard her sing nor move, he then knew that those visions were on her account, and understood that the enemy had deceived her, and that it was he who was to bring her back to penitence. And finding for certain that she was flown and gone, he began to weep, and said, 'Alas! what cruel wolf hath carried off my lamb?' And his grief rising, he lifted up his voice, broken with sobs, and prayed, 'Saviour of the world, Jesu Christ! restore me my sheep Mary, bring her back to the fold, that I die not thus in sorrow! Lord, despise not my prayer, but send thy grace swiftly, that I may rescue her from the dragon's mouth!'

"And after two years, which were signified by the two days, he heard where Mary was, and what life she was leading, and sending a friend to enquire further, and being certified of everything, he commended himself to God, and bought vestments and ornaments as of a rich cavalier, and a good horse, and a hat broad and overlapping, that his features might not be known. And going to the inn where his niece was, and taking thus the arms of the wicked in order to discover and defeat their wickedness (after the example of that other Abraham who rode forth as a warrior to rescue Lot, and of Him too who took the guise of sin for the salvation of the world), he demanded to speak with Mary. And being admitted by the host, and seeing her in the garb of sin, he felt such grief that he well nigh fainted, but he refrained himself and did not weep, fearing lest she should recognise him and fly. And the three sitting down together, such an odour of abstinence and sanctity issued from him, that Mary felt grief and compunction in her heart, and fell a weeping, and said, 'Alas, me miserable! what am I come to!' And the host, marvelling, said, 'Mary, thou hast been here two years, and I never saw thee sigh or weep before—wherefore now?' But she only answered, 'Happy had I died two years ago!' Then Abraham gave money to the host and bade him provide supper for them. And when he was gone, Abraham took her by the hand, and drawing her towards him, uncovered his head and began to weep bitterly, and said, 'O my daughter Mary, dost thou not know me? Am I not thine uncle, who brought thee up? O miserable one, what art thou come to—how fallen! Where is the life of thy soul? Where

thy fastings, thy watchings, thy prayers and tears? O wretched one, that hast fallen from the heights of heaven to the depths of iniquity! And though thou hadst sinned, why hide it from me? For I would have done penance for thee with my brother Ephraim.[1] Why didst thou despair and fly? Why hast thou brought upon me such affliction?' And Mary, full of shame and sorrow, stood before him motionless as a stone, and as if dead; and Abraham, seeing it, began to console her, and said, 'Wilt thou not speak to me, daughter Mary, having come thus far for thee? Be not cast down—upon me be thy sin—I will answer for it at the day of judgment—comfort thee, for I will do thy penance for thee!' And thus consoling her, she took comfort and said, weeping, 'I dare not look in thy face, and how then can I look up to God and pray, being full of uncleanness?' And Abraham answered, 'On me be thy sin, my daughter, and God require it of me,—but now come with me, and let us return to our cell. Think of the Magdalen and of the mercy of God, who willeth not the death of the sinner! It is not such a great thing to fall into sin, but obstinately to continue therein is sin indeed.'

"So Mary bent herself to the earth and worshipped him, and did him reverence, and said, 'How can I thank thee, my lord and father!' And he said, 'Up, my child, and let us go.' And he mounted her on his horse and led her away, greatly rejoicing, and arriving at his place, he put her into her cell, and he abode in that where he had been before. And mindful of the grace of God, that had called her to penitence, she put on sackcloth, and passed her days and nights in watchings, prayers and tears, so that not only God, but all that heard her pitied her. And after ten years Abraham died, being seventy years old, and five years afterwards Mary also died; and in testimony of her forgiveness, her face shone brightly after she was dead, so that every one marvelled and gave glory and praise to God the Father and to Jesus Christ the Blessed."—*Vite*, lib. iv, cap. 139; *Rosw.* lib. i, p. 368.

[1] The celebrated Saint of that name, commonly called S. Ephraim Syrus, who flourished about the middle of the fourth century—and the author of this narrative, which I have much abridged. It may be found at large in his life of Abraham, among his Greek writings, at the commencement of the second volume of his works, edit. *Romæ*, 1743.

"We, Theophilus, Sergius and Hyginus, inspired by God, renounced the world, and entered the monastery which is in Mesopotamia of Syria, between the two rivers, Tigris and Euphrates, where the holy father Asclepion was Abbot. And after having been a long time in the said monastery, one day, after nones, we walked by the river Euphrates, and sat down on the bank to repose ourselves, and began to speak of the virtue and perfection of divers holy fathers. And I, Theophilus, said to my companions, 'My brethren, a wish hath come into my heart, to go a travelling all the days of my life, and to persevere till I reach the place where heaven and earth meet.' And they answering, that they had ever looked upon me as their spiritual father, and that they were ready to follow me till death, we arose up with that purpose, and returned to the monastery. And saying nothing thereof, either to the Abbot or any other monk, late that evening, after prayer to God, and when all had gone to rest, we departed secretly, and in seventeen days came to Jerusalem, and adored the Holy Cross, and visited the holy places both there and at Bethlehem. And after commending ourselves to God and his Saints, departing thence, in fifty days we entered Persia, and came to a large and spacious plain which is named Asia, and thereafter entered the city of Persia named Kitissefodus (Ctesiphon), where are buried the three children, Ananias, Azarias and Misael. And after four months, proceeding thence, and entering the region of India, we fell in with full three thousand Ethiopians, who surrounded us with fire in a house, and would fain have burnt us, but calling on Christ, we escaped, and thereafter they put us into a dark prison, without food or drink, but God sustained us with food from heaven; and coming, and finding us alive and praying to God, they beat us cruelly and drove us out of their bounds. And after many days, we came to a fair plain, far in the East, full of lofty trees, laden with fruit, of which, praising God, we ate abundantly. And thence departing, we entered the coasts of the Cananeans, who are called Cynocephali, who dwell in caves, but as it pleased God, they let us pass and did us no injury. And after one hundred and ten days we reached the country of the Pichiti, otherwise named Pygmies, who fled, seeing us. And we proceeded further, and came to certain mountains most arid and gloomy, where neither sun shines nor herbs grow, and there we found serpents and beasts of

great fierceness, but by the help of God we passed them unharmed, but for twenty days afterwards we heard their hissing and roaring. And after that, we came to a place exceeding wild, with steep and terrible precipices, and there we remained seven days, there being no path beyond it. And on the seventh day, there appeared to us a beautiful stag, and made sign that it was willing to guide us. Whom following, we found the mountains and precipices ever the steeper, till we came to an immense plain, full of elephants, but we passed through the midst of them harmless, and fared onward, and after nine days, came to a fruitful plain, but suddenly that plain was filled with thick darkness, and falling to the ground, disturbed and afflicted, we prayed and called on God for seven days continually, neither eating nor seeing light. And at the end of seven days there appeared to us a dove of dazzling whiteness, which came towards us, and appeared to invite us to renew our journey, and we commended ourselves to God and followed her.

"And as we went, we found a great tablet of marble with this inscription, 'This tablet was placed here by Alexander, the Emperor, when he pursued Darius. He that would proceed further, let him keep to the left.' Proceeding therefore towards the left, after forty days we smelt a great stench, so that we fell to the earth as if dead, and unable to sustain it, we prayed God to receive us into his rest. And as it pleased God, feeling ourselves a little comforted, we arose, and looking round us, saw a very broad lake full of serpents belching out fire, and we heard voices issue from that lake, and clamour as of an innumerable multitude which wept and wailed, and we heard a voice from heaven saying, 'This is the place of judgment and punishment for those who deny Christ.' And weeping and striking our breasts, we departed very quickly thence, and went on till, at the foot of two lofty mountains, there appeared to us a man of vast stature, chained with four chains, of which two were fixed to one mountain and two to the other, and around him all was fire, and he cried so loud that he might have been heard at forty miles off. And stupified and aghast, and covering our faces, we hurried past, and came to a place, deep, horrible, rugged and stony, in which we saw a woman most frightful of aspect, with dishevelled hair hanging to the ground, and encircled and girt round by a dragon, which, whenever she opened her mouth to speak,

put its head into her mouth and bit her tongue. And as we stood and gazed, we heard a voice issue from that valley, 'Have pity on us, O Christ, the Son of God, the blessed!' And thereafter we came into another place in which we saw many trees which had the appearance of fig-trees, and in the boughs thereof were certain birds, which cried with human voices, 'Pardon us, O God our Creator!' And throwing ourselves on the ground, and praying God to show us what this thing meant, there came a voice which said, 'It is not for you to know the secret judgments of God. Proceed on your way.' Whence parting in fear, we came to a place beautiful and spacious, where we found four men, of most wonderful and gracious aspect, and who had crowns of gold and gems on their heads, and in their hands palm-branches of gold, and in front of them there was a great fire burning, and swords very sharp and cutting. And seeing us afraid, they comforted us and said, 'Fear not, but go on securely, for we are stationed here by God till the day of judgment.'

"And travelling onward, we went for thirty days without food save water, and as we journeyed we heard voices as of an unnumbered multitude, and much singing, and we smelt an odour most sweet, as of the balsam, and in our mouths there abode a taste as it were of honey, through which things, as if inebriated with sweetness, we fell asleep. And after a little, waking again, we saw before us a Church, marvellously beautiful and ornate, and it appeared as if wholly of crystal, and in the midst was a fair altar from which issued water, white as milk, and around it stood men in white raiment, and of most holy and honourable aspect, and they sang a celestial hymn of rare melody. And that Church, on the south side, had the likeness of an emerald, and towards the East was of the colour of pure blood, and towards the West white as snow, and above it were many stars, more bright than those that usually shine, and so too the sun was seven times more brilliant and more warm in that country than in ours, and the alps and mountains were higher, the trees and fruits more fair and lovely, and the birds made sweeter minstrelsy. And, in brief, everything we saw was more beautiful than in the world we had left behind us. The very earth was on the one side white as snow and on the other red. Which things having considered, and after saluting those holy men, we proceeded,

and after awhile came to a plain full of herbs white as milk, sweet as honey, and about a cubit high, of which we ate, thanking God, and whereas for a long time we had found no path, we here perceived a fair one, which pursuing, after several days we reached a cave.

"And making the sign of the cross we entered, but found no one within. So we sat down and rested. And suddenly we smelt a smell of such exceeding fragrance that we fell asleep. And after awhile awaking, and looking towards the East, we saw approaching us as it were the figure of a very aged man, with hair white as snow, and covered with down like a bird, and seeing us, he threw himself on the ground, and prayed, and said, 'If ye be sent by God, make the sign of the cross and come to me, but if ye be from the enemy, depart hence!' And answering that we were monks, who had quitted the world to serve God, and beseeching his blessing, he came towards us, and lifting his hands to heaven, prayed for a long hour, and then, parting the hair from his forehead, blessed us and spoke to us, and his face appeared as that of an angel, and through his extreme age his eyes were scarcely visible, and the nails of his hands and feet were very long, and his hair and beard covered his whole body, and his voice was weak and scarcely audible, as if it rose from a deep abyss. And asking in what state the world was, and Holy Church, and whether the Saracens and Gentiles still persecuted the Christians, and who we were, we answered in order, and told him of our purpose to travel until we should reach the place where heaven joins the earth; but he answered and said, 'Know, my children! that nearer than this no man can approach Paradise, for I, miserable sinner, wished to go further, but the angel of God visited me in my sleep and said, "Go no further, nor presume to tempt God." And I said, "Wherefore, Sir, may I not go further?" And he answered, "From this place to Paradise are twenty miles, but God hath placed a cherubim before it with his flaming sword to keep the way of the tree of life, and he hath two feet, and down to the middle he hath the likeness of a man, and his breast as a lion, and his hands are in appearance as crystal."' Hearing which things, I, Theophilus, and my companions, threw ourselves to the earth for reverence, and thanked God and him. And when it was evening, he said, 'My brethren, go forth of the cell, and watch till ye see two lions coming.' And when they came,

he laid his hand on their necks and said to them, 'My sons, these brethren have come to me from the world; see ye do them no injury!' Then calling us in, and having sung vespers, we sat down and supped with him, and he told us of his life and conversation, and that he was Macarius, and how, being married against his will, he had fled from his wife on the evening of their nuptials, and concealed himself with a certain widow, and thereafter, after long wandering in the desert and many adventures, had travelled thus far, guided and assisted by the angel Raphael,—and how the devil, long afterwards, beguiled him in the semblance of his wife whom he had deserted, and how, presently thereafter, the two lions appeared from the desert, by the mercy of God, and entering the cave, scooped out in the ground a hole of the size of a man, and how, thanking God for indicating that penance, he laid himself therein and commanded the lions to heap the earth around him, and how towards the end of three years there fell a great rain, and the cave opened above him, and he saw light, and stretching out his hand, he took of the herbs that grew there and ate, and how the lions returned, after the three years were accomplished, and removed the earth from off him, so that he could freely rise, and how, rising, he found himself stronger than before, and how Our Saviour afterwards appeared to him in the cave, and how he had lived there in penitence ever since. And when he had narrated all these things and we had rested, the most holy Macarius prayed for us and blessed us, and commended us to Christ, and commanded those two lions to accompany us to the place where I said before that we lay in darkness seven days and seven nights. And reaching it quickly, we proceeded without let or hindrance to the tablet of Alexander, and thence through Persia and to the city where the three children were put into the fiery furnace, and thence crossing the river Tigris, in fifteen days we reached Jerusalem, and after adoring the holy sepulchre and other holy places, and thanking the Saviour who had saved us from such perils and brought us back in safety, we reached our monastery, and found the Abbot and all the brethren safe and well; and relating all we had seen and heard, and of the life of the holy Macarius, they praised and thanked God our Father, with his Son, Our Saviour, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, life of our souls, One essence and unity in Three persons, who reigneth and is Lord over all

and everywhere, most blessed, for evermore, Amen!"—*Rosw.* lib. i, p. 224; *Vitæ*, lib. v, cap. 1-6.[1]

3. *Of S. Jerome.*

[Born A.D. 342, died 420. Doctor of the Church. Chiefly from Peter de Natalibus.]

"JEROME, Presbyter and Doctor, was born in Dalmatia, and received full instruction in Greek, Latin and Hebrew letters. But loving Plato more than the prophets, as more polished and elegant in style, and being seized with a fever, so that, the heat of life failing, his death was expected, he was suddenly caught up in the spirit before the judgment-seat of God, and being questioned as to his condition, and answering, 'A Christian,' it was replied, 'Thou liest! thou art a Ciceronian, for where thy treasure is, there thy heart is also.' And Jerome was silent, and the Judge commanded him to be scourged severely. But entreating for mercy, and those standing by interceding for him, he was released on promising no more to read secular writings. He awoke, bathed in tears, and with the marks of stripes on his shoulders.[2]

"After certain years he betook himself to the Egyptian desert, where what he endured for Christ is narrated in his epistle to Eustochium. For he macerated himself with incredible penitence, struggling against the flesh.[3] And, after

[1] Though not the best sustained, this is perhaps the earliest of the long series of allegories of the Christian life and pilgrimage—a series perfected and closed by the 'Pilgrim's Progress' of John Bunyan. Macarius, like S. Christopher, is evidently here an allegorical personage, although partially confounded with the celebrated Egyptian Saint of that name.

[2] He tells this story himself, concluding with this solemn asseveration: "Nec vero sopor ille fuerat, aut vana somnia quibus sæpe deludimur. Testis est tribunal illud, ante quod jacui, testis judicium triste, quod timui; ita mihi nunquam contingat in talem incidere quæstionem, liventes habuisse scapulas, plagas sensisse post somnum, et tanto dehinc studio divina legisse, quanto non ante mortalia legeram." See his epistle 'De custodiendâ Virginitate,' addressed to Eustochium, the daughter of his friend Paula.—*Opera*, tom. iv, pt. 2, p. 42.

[3] "Oh! how often," he exclaims, "while dwelling in the wilderness, and in that vast solitude, burnt up by the sun's heat, the dreary dwelling of anchorets, did I fancy myself present at the delights of Rome! I dwelt apart, for my soul was filled with bitterness. My disfigured limbs were rough with sackcloth, and my squalid skin was foul with the Ethiop's tetter. Daily tears, daily groans! And when sleep surprised me unawares, my naked bones, that scarce clung together, were bruised in falling to the ground. I say nothing of food and drink, for even the sick drink but water, and to have eaten aught cooked would have

four years, he took up his abode at Bethlehem, and built a monastery at the western gate of the city, and drew together many disciples, and possessing a great library, he passed his days and nights in fasting and study, spending fifty years on his translation of the Scriptures. And he founded a nunnery there also, where Paula, the widow, and Eustochium, her virgin daughter, his dearly beloved friends, who had followed him to Palestine, abode.

"And on a certain day, towards evening, while Jerome, with the brethren, were seated reading the Scriptures, a lion, which had fallen lame, entered the monastery. All fled, and the holy Doctor received him alone, and found that his paw had been wounded by thorns. And drawing them forth, the lion recovered, and thereafter dwelt there like a domestic animal, and ate hay like an ox. On whom Jerome imposed the service of conducting and protecting, on the road and in the forest, the ass which brought fire-wood for the monastery. And the lion faithfully guarded the ass, as a shepherd doth the sheep.

"But on a certain day, by ill adventure, the lion fell asleep, and some merchants, passing by with their camels, saw the ass feeding at a great distance from the lion, and stole him, and led him away. And the lion awaking, wandered hither and thither, roaring and seeking for his comrade. And not finding him, he returned sorrowing to the gate of the monastery, not presuming to enter through very shame, and the brethren perceiving it, and that the ass was missing, concluded that he had eaten him, and refused him therefore his accus-

been luxury. Yet even then, I, who had damned myself to that prison-house through the fear of hell—consorting but with scorpions and beasts, I was often present at the dances of girls! My cheeks were pale with fasting, my body was ice, but my heart burnt within me with unholy fire. Thus destitute of all help I lay at the feet of Jesus, washing them with my tears, wiping them with my hair, and yoking down my struggling flesh with week-long fastings. I blush not at my misery—rather I mourn that I am not now what I was then. Night often came ere I ceased to strike my breast, ere tranquillity returned, ere the Lord ceased to chide. I held my very cell in horror, as if conscious of my thoughts. And at such times I would plunge into the wilderness, and wherever the valleys yawned deepest, where the mountains were ruggedest, the rocks most precipitate, there was my place of prayer, there the task-house of my most wretched flesh,—and, as God is my witness! after many tears, after eyes long fixed on heaven, I now and then found myself present with the bands of angels, and gladly and in joy I took up my song, 'In odorem unguentorum tuorum curremus,'—'We will run after thee, because of the savour of thy good ointments.'"—*Opera ut supra*, p. 30.

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tomed food. And by Jerome's advice, they laid the duty of the ass on the lion, and employed him accordingly in bringing in their faggots from the forest.

"And after the lion had borne this a long time very patiently, one evening, after his work was done, he began to run hither and thither, as if by divine instinct, till at last he perceived at a distance the merchantmen returning with their camels, and the ass along with them, and the lion, recognising the ass, roared loudly and rushed out upon them, and the men all fled in every direction. But the lion, lashing the earth fearfully with his tail, drove the ass and the camels, loaded as they were, to the gate of the monastery. Which the brethren seeing, told to Jerome, and he ordered the camels to be brought in and unloaded, and their feet to be washed, adding that they should wait the will of the Lord. Then the lion began to run through the monastery, prostrating himself severally at the feet of each of the monks, and wagging his tail, as if to crave pardon for his offence. But Jerome, prescient of the future, ordered supper to be got ready for expected guests. And lo! these guests were already at the gate, craving to see the Abbot. And when he went forth, they threw themselves at his feet, imploring forgiveness. And kindly drawing them in, and entertaining them, he admonished them to respect the rights of others, and rest content for the future with their own property.[1]

"And Jerome's death drawing near, he commanded that he should be laid on the bare ground and covered with sackcloth, and calling the brethren around him, he spoke sweetly to them, and exhorted them in many holy words, and appointed Eusebius to be their abbot in his room. And then, with tears, he received the blessed Eucharist. And sinking backwards again on the earth, his hands crossed on his heart, he sung the 'Nunc dimittis.' Which being finished, it being the hour of compline, suddenly a great light, as of the noonday sun, shone round about him, within which light angels innumerable were seen by the bystanders, in shifting motion, like sparks among the dry reeds. And the voice of the Saviour was heard, inviting him to heaven, and the holy Doctor answered that

[1] According to the 'Spiritual Meadow,' of John Moschus, who died A.D. 620—the original source probably of this legend—the lion is said to have pined away after Jerome's death, and to have at last died on his grave. *Rosweyde*, p. 888.

he was ready. And after an hour, that light departed, and Jerome's spirit with it.

"And at that very hour Augustine, bishop of Hippo Regius, was sitting in his cell, meditating a treatise on the beatific vision, and had begun an epistle to Jerome, consulting him on that mystery, when an ineffable light, with a fragrant odour, filled his cell, and a voice came to him therefrom, reproving him of presumption for deeming that, while yet in the flesh, he could comprehend the eternal beatitude. And Augustine demanding who spoke to him, the voice answered, 'Jerome's soul, to whom thou writest, for I am this very hour loosed from the flesh and on my way to heaven.' And after Augustine had asked him many questions concerning the joys of heaven, the angelic nature and the Blessed Trinity, and Jerome had answered thereto, the light and the voice departed."

4. *Of S. Martin.*

[Born A.D. 316, died 397. Bishop of Tours. Abridged from his Life by his disciple Sulpicius Severus, the "Christian Sallust."]

"MARTIN, a native of Sabaria, a city of Pannonia, and of gentle parentage, but brought up at Ticinum (Pavia), in Italy, served under his father, a military tribune, while Constantius and Julian were Emperors,—yet not willingly, for he had become a catechumen of the Church, against his parents' will, at ten years old, and would even then have retired to the desert, but for the impediment of his youth. And after his entrance into the army he lived spotless and free from vice, and gave all he had to the poor.

"And while serving in Gaul, and having nothing left (through his charity) except his armour and the cloak upon his back, a beggar petitioned him for alms as he entered the gate of Amiens; it was a bitter winter's day, and the beggar was naked; S. Martin drew his sword, and cutting his cloak in two, gave the beggar half of it. And on the following night, as he slumbered, he saw our Saviour standing beside his bed, clothed in the fragment of his cloak which he had given the beggar, and attended by angels, to whom he heard him saying, 'This robe was given me by Martin, still a catechumen.' Whereupon Martin presented himself to be baptized, being then in his twenty-second year.

"And wishing to leave the army, his commanding officer would not permit it. But two years afterwards, the barbarians having invaded Gaul, and the Emperor Julian bestowing a donative on his army, and the officers approaching one by one (as the custom is) to receive it, Martin refused to accept it, and craved his dismissal, alleging that he was the soldier of Christ, and that it was not lawful for him to fight. And Julian, much displeased, charged him with cowardice. But Martin offered to place himself on the following day in the front of the battle, and penetrate into the thickest of the enemy without any weapon save the sign of the cross and the name of Christ. Wherefore the Emperor commanded him to be carefully guarded, lest he should elude the experiment, but by divine providence (lest the man of God should be sent out to battle, unarmed), the enemy sent in their submission the following morning, and Martin was permitted to retire.

"Thereafter he sought out the holy Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, and received ordination from him as an Exorcist, his humility not permitting him to accept a higher order. And being warned in a dream to visit his parents in Pannonia, he returned thither, and endured many perils by the way, being attacked and bound by robbers, whom nevertheless he converted by his preaching, and they released him. And he converted his mother, but his father continued still in obduracy. And the Arians prevailing in that country, Martin was beaten and cast out of the city, and returned to Milan, but being driven thence also by the Arians, he rejoined Hilary at Poitiers. And a certain man having died without baptism, he took the body into his cell, and prayed over it, and the man revived and received baptism, living for many years afterwards. And he related that he had been carried before the tribunal of the Judge and had received sentence, when two angels represented that he was the man for whom Martin had prayed, and the Judge commanded that he should be carried back and restored to life. And thereafter Martin was esteemed of all a man of holiness, powerful in intercession, and as an apostle of the Lord,—and very deservedly so, for no one ever saw him angry, no one either grieving or laughing, but his countenance was ever the same, suffused with a certain heavenly joy, passing human nature; nothing dwelt on his lips but Christ, nothing in his heart but piety, peace and pity. And he remained with Hilary till his election as bishop of Tours.

"And not enduring the great concourse of the people, he formed unto himself a monastery about two miles out of that city, in a place so secret and remote that he no longer sighed for the desert. The scarped rock of a lofty mountain overhung it on one side, and the Loire, sweeping round so as to enclose a small plain, cut off all access from the other. It could be approached but by one path, and that a narrow and difficult one. His cell and those of many of the brethren, were built of logs of wood; others excavated their dwellings in the lofty rock that rose up above them. Eighty brethren lived thus together, under the rule of the blessed Martin. No one had aught of his own, all things were held by them in common. No one was permitted (after the manner of monks) to buy or sell. No art was allowed there except that of the scriptor, which was left indeed to the younger brethren, the elder occupying themselves solely with prayer. Rarely did any one leave his cell, except for assembling at the place of worship. They took their meal together after the hours of fasting. Wine was never drank, except in case of sickness. Most of them were clad in camels'-hair; a softer raiment was esteemed criminal. And this was the more to be wondered at, as many of them were noble, and had been brought up very differently, but they had compelled themselves to this humility and patience. And many of these brethren we have since seen bishops. For where is the city or church which doth not wish itself a priest from Martin's monastery?

"And a certain person being worshipped in a neighbouring church under the name of a martyr, and Martin being unable to ascertain aught respecting his life or martyrdom, standing over his sepulchre he prayed to the Lord that he would reveal it to him. And turning to the left, he beheld the spirit of the man, foul and fierce, standing by, who told him that he was the soul of a thief who was worshipped in that altar, and had been put to death for his crimes, and was among the damned in hell. And all heard him speaking, but no one saw the vision, which Martin declared to them, and then threw down the altar.

"And seeing a dead youth carried to the grave, followed by a crowd of people, and by his mother weeping, Martin had compassion on her, and restored him to life, and many of those pagans were converted.

"And in destroying a very ancient temple, he was about to cut down a pine-tree dedicated to the devil that had been

worshipped there, and the rustic people opposed him, till one of them offered that it should be cut down provided Martin would stand in its way as it fell—'and if God be with thee,' he said, 'thou shalt escape uninjured.' And Martin, trusting in the Lord, agreed to this. The tree was ancient and inclined greatly to one side, and they placed Martin, bound, beneath it. And the Gentiles, with great merriment, began to cut down the tree. And the pine began by little and little to nod, and incline more and more over Martin's head. And the monks grew paler and paler, expecting his death. And down it rushed—but Martin, unmoved, and raising his hand towards it, made the sign of the cross, and, as if repelled by a whirlwind, it sprung back and fell on the other side. And while the brethren wept for joy, the whole of that savage multitude shouted and called on Christ as their God.

"And some time thereafter, willing to destroy another idol-temple in the suburb of lepers, and the pagans resisting, after praying for many days, armed angels appeared, and attacking the pagans put them to flight, and Martin accomplished his purpose.

"And while destroying a third temple, the Gentiles rushed upon him, and one attacked him with his sword, but he presented his naked neck, and the man fell on his knees, and besought his pardon. And on a similar occasion, a man offering to strike him, the sword was struck out of his hand and disappeared.

"And he cast out many devils, and healed many sick by his touch alone. At Paris he kissed a leper, horrible of aspect, and immediately he was made clean. And even irrational animals obeyed him. While journeying through his diocese, a hare fled past, followed by the hounds, and pitying her, he called them back, and they obeyed him.[1] And he was often visited by angels and apostles, and was solaced with their conversation.

"And on a certain time, soon after his election as bishop, having occasion to visit the court of Valentinian the Emperor,[2] to petition for something which the latter did not choose to grant, Valentinian, at the instigation of his wife, who was an Arian, denied him admission into the palace, and ordered the gates to be closed against him. And having been repulsed a

[1] Peter de Natalibus further informs us that a dog that was barking ceased to do so at his bidding.

[2] The First, of that name.

second and a third time, Martin betook himself to his usual weapons of prayer and fasting, and on the seventh day was admonished by an angel to go boldly to the palace. Which doing, every door flew open, and no one hindered him, but he walked straight into the Emperor's presence. And Valentinian indignantly keeping his seat, it suddenly took fire under him, and burnt that part of his body upon which he sat, whereupon, being compelled to rise, contrite and ashamed, he embraced Martin and granted all that he required of him.

"And thereafter, being at the court of the Emperor Maximus, and invited by him to dine with him, he refused constantly, alleging that he could not sit at table with a man who had deprived one emperor of his throne and another of his life. Yet Maximus entreating him, and representing that he had assumed the empire, not voluntarily, but through the imposition of the army, Martin, whether yielding to his reasoning or his importunity, consented to come. And all the great men of the court were assembled to meet him, and Martin's presbyter was placed between two Counts of the highest dignity, the King's brother and his uncle, but Martin himself sat on a little seat beside the King. And at the middle of the banquet, as is the custom, the King's cupbearer offered him the cup, but he commanded it to be given rather to the bishop, expecting that he should receive it from his hand. But Martin, after he had drunk thereof, presented the cup to his presbyter, as the worthiest to drink after him, which the Emperor and all who were with him, although contemned in that comparison, applauded greatly. And it was noted through the whole palace, that Martin had done that at the Imperial table which none of the bishops had done at those even of the inferior judges.

"And the Empress[1] also entertained him, although greatly against his will, as he avoided all converse with women. But she thought not of dignity or diadem, but clinging as it were to Martin's feet, could not be separated from them, washing them with her tears. By the permission of her husband, she prepared him an entertainment, alone, allowing no other service. The meal was prepared by her chaste hands, she arranged his seat, offered water for his hands, and placed before him the food which she had herself cooked. And while he

[1] She was a British lady, by name Helena, daughter of a wealthy lord of Caernarvonshire.—*Gibbon*, chap. xxvii.

sat aloft, she stood immoveably before him, according to the custom of menials. She mixed the wine for him to drink, and presented it herself. And after the meal was over, she collected the crumbs that had fallen from his table, preferring them to the banquet of the Emperor.

"And as he went to the church on a certain day, meeting a poor man naked, he gave him his inner robe, and covered himself as he best might with his cope. And the archdeacon, indignant, offering him a short and narrow vestment, he received it humbly, and went up to celebrate mass. And a globe of fire appeared above his head, and when he elevated the host, his arms being exposed by the shortness of the sleeves, they were miraculously covered with chains of gold and silver, suspended on them by angels.

"Many were the attempts of the devil to deceive him. Sometimes he appeared to him as Jupiter, oftener as Mercury, and very frequently as Venus or Minerva. Against whom he protected himself, fearlessly, by the sign of the cross and by prayer. And lastly, the enemy appeared to him, as he prayed, in royal raiment, crowned with gems and gold, with gilded sandals and a serene and joyful countenance, and surrounded with a purple light. And after they had regarded each other in silence for some time, Satan called on Martin to recognise and do him homage, for that he was Christ, and had come to visit him first, being about to return to the earth. But Martin replied, by the inspiration of the Lord, that Christ was not to return in the purple or with a diadem, but as he had been slain, with the signs and tokens of his passion. Whereupon that apparition vanished like smoke, filling the cell with such a stench that no man could doubt but that it was the devil. And lest any one should think this fabulous, I know it from Martin's own mouth. And whatever else I have told is either from his own information, or from that of others who were present, or knew for certain the truth of the things they reported.

"Long before his death the man of God foreknew and predicted his decease. But the affairs of the church at Cande being much disordered, he travelled thither in order to compose them. And as he journeyed, accompanied by a great multitude of his disciples, vast flocks of cormorants were hovering over the river, fishing for their food, reminding him, as he said, of the sport of devils, laying snares for the unwary,

ravishing the innocent, devouring their captives and insatiate with prey. And commanding them to leave the river and retreat to the wilderness, flocking together they all took flight and disappeared.

"And after restoring peace among the clergy, though anxious to return to his monastery, his strength might endure no longer. And assembling his disciples, he took farewell of them, while all wept around him. And during his fever he lay continually on ashes and in sackcloth, praying to Christ. And when his presbyters besought him that they might change the position in which he lay, so that he might rest on one side, 'Brethren,' he replied, 'let me rather look towards heaven than earth.' And at the moment he expired he saw the devil standing beside him, and he answered, 'Why here, thou beast of blood? Thou wilt find nothing in me. I shall rest in Abraham's bosom.' And thus saying, he yielded the spirit.

"And the whole city and the neighbourhood assembled for his obsequies, and followed him with hymns and tears to the grave. And at the hour of his burial Severinus, bishop of Cologne, heard voices singing in the air. And calling his archdeacon, he enquired whether he heard anything, and the archdeacon answering 'No,' the bishop ordered him to listen more attentively. And stretching out his neck, erecting his ears, and standing on tiptoe, supporting himself with his staff, the archdeacon listened, but I doubt that he was not of sufficient merit to hear such sounds. Then, both praying together, and the bishop entreating the Lord for the archdeacon, after rising and listening again, the bishop enquired, 'What hearest thou?' And he answered, 'Voices as of those singing in heaven, but what they may be I know not.' And the bishop informed him that they were the songs of the angels as they carried Martin up to heaven.

"And at that same hour the blessed Ambrose was celebrating mass at Milan, and the custom was that the Lector should not begin to read till the bishop nodded to him. And when he would have begun, standing before the altar, the blessed Ambrose fell asleep on the altar. Which many saw, but no man presumed to wake him till after two or three hours had elapsed, when they spoke to him, saying, 'The hour has passed by,—let my lord, the bishop, command the Lector to read, for the people are waiting and already very weary.' And Ambrose bade them not be disturbed, for that his brother

Martin had departed from the flesh, and he had just been attending his funeral. And greatly astonished, and noting the day and the hour, they found afterwards that at that very time the blessed Martin had been buried at Tours."

5. *Of S. Benedict.*

[Born A.D. 480, died 543. Styled by Butler the "patriarch of the Western monks;" founder of the Benedictine order, and of the monasteries of Subiaco, Monte Cassino, etc. Abridged from his Life, forming the second book of the Dialogues of Pope Gregory the Great, and written from the personal information of four of his disciples, viz. his successor at Subiaco, the second and third abbots of Monte Cassino, and the first of the monastery of the Lateran.—*Opera*, tom. ii, p. 207, edit. *Benedict.*[1]]

"BENEDICT, the Abbot, was born at Norcia, of parents above the common rank, and was taken by them to Rome for education, but on perceiving the vices of the world he turned his back on her, despising the study of letters, learned although unlearned, wise in his ignorance. He set off accordingly for the wilderness, his nurse, who loved him dearly, alone accompanying him. But arriving at Enfide,[2] and many of the more respectable men of that place detaining him there, from the regard they bore him, he abode there for some time, dwelling in the church of S. Peter. And his nurse having left a sieve, which had been lent to her, on the table, and finding it broken on her return, she wept; on which Benedict, taking the fragments to his chamber and praying, found it entire on rising from his knees, and restored it to her. After this, desirous of avoiding the praise of men, he gave his nurse the slip, and escaped into the desert which is called Sublacus (Subiaco), about forty miles distant from Rome, where there is much water collected into a lake first, and thence issuing as a river. And while journeying thither, he met a certain monk,

[1] See M. Guizot's 'Hist. de la Civilisation en France,' xiv^e *Leçon*, for a very interesting analysis of the rule of S. Benedict,—and the same and following chapters for many most valuable observations on the early monastic system as current in the East and West.

[2] "Afile," according to Sir W. Gell, is "a mountain hamlet, in the rugged district near Subiaco. The details of its topography are not as yet accurately known."—*Topogr. of Rome, etc.* vol. i, p. 17. It is placed in Sir William's map in the midst of a broad blank space, described as "regio non satis explorata,"—still more a "wilderness" now, probably, than in Benedict's time. The Benedictine commentators describe it as "vulgo *Afide* in Æquicolis, duobus mill. a Sublaco."

by name Romanus, who asked whither he was going, and, learning his object, gave him shelter and assistance, and robed him in the habit of holy conversation.[1] And he dwelt in this place for three years in a very narrow cave, unknown to any one except Romanus, who lived in a monastery not far off, and who saved what he could from his own meals for the sustenance of his friend.

"Benedict's cell was on a high rock, most difficult of ascent, wherefore Romanus suspended the food to a rope dependent from it, and attached to it a little bell, which he rang to give notice of his presence. But the old enemy, envying the one the charity, the other the refreshment, threw a stone one day, and broke the bell. Yet Romanus did not relax from his kind offices. Nevertheless the Lord, willing to make his servant's manner of life more known, that, like a candle set on a candlestick, it might illumine all who dwell in the house of God, appeared to a certain presbyter, who had prepared himself a supper of festivity for Easter-day, and said, 'Thou providest sumptuously for thyself, but my servant Benedict is starving on yonder mountain!' And rising up straightway, and taking the food that he had cooked, the presbyter sought for Benedict everywhere until he found him, in his cave. And they prayed together, and blessed God. And the presbyter said, 'Rise and let us eat, for this is Easter-day.' And the man of God answered, 'I know that it is Easter-day, since I have merited to see thee.' For, dwelling apart from men, he was quite ignorant on what day that feast fell. And so they dined together.

"And on a certain day, while he was alone, the tempter came upon him in the form of a blackbird, fluttering round him, but with the sign of the cross he drove it away. And immediately there followed a grievous temptation; the image of a certain woman, very beautiful, whom he had seen long before, recurred to his mind through the malignity of the enemy, so that for awhile he almost resolved to return to the world, but rolling himself naked among thorns and brambles, it passed away, and returned no more for ever after.[2]

"Benedict's name was now become very famous, and the superior of a neighbouring monastery being dead, the brethren besought him to become their abbot, and after much entreaty

[1] That is, the monastic habit.

[2] A similar story is told of S. Francis, with the addition that the thorns and brambles afterwards became roses.

prevailed. But finding his rule too rigid, they mixed poison with wine, and offered it to him, but stretching out his hand and making the sign of the cross, the glass broke, and he perceived their wickedness. And rising straightway, and mildly reproving them, he returned to his beloved solitude.

"Numbers flocked to him thither, and he built twelve monasteries on the lofty rocks surrounding his retreat. And many of the nobles of Rome brought their children to be dedicated to the Lord through him. And especially, Æquitius brought his son Maurus, and Tertullus, the patrician, his son Placidus, then of very tender age.

"And in one of these monasteries there was a certain monk who could not endure to abide with the brethren during the time of prayer, but the moment they knelt down, went out, and with a wandering mind betook himself to things purely transitory and worldly. And this being told the man of God, and admonition proving unavailing, Benedict visited the monastery, and when the psalms were ended, and the brethren knelt down to pray, he saw a little black boy drawing the monk in question by the gown out of the church. And pointing it out to the superior, and the latter not being able to see the boy, 'Let us pray,' said Benedict, 'that you may.' And after two days, Maurus saw him, but still the superior could not. And on the third day, after prayer, Benedict found the monk standing outside the door, and striking him with his staff, in reproof of the blindness of his heart, from that day forth he was no more troubled by that black boy, but staid out the prayers patiently with his brethren.

"But three of the monasteries, thus established by Benedict, being on very lofty rocks where there were no springs of water, the monks were obliged to descend daily to draw water from the lake,—and complaining to Benedict, the latter, accompanied by Placidus, ascended the mountain that night, unknown to the brethren, and after prayer, laid three stones one on the other, as a mark, and, next day, desired the brethren to ascend and dig where they should find those three stones. And arriving at the top and preparing to dig, they found the water already oozing through.

"At another time, a certain Goth had been converted and enrolled among the brethren. And being employed by Benedict in cutting down brambles on the edge of the lake, the iron of his billhook flew off and sunk in the water where it

was very deep. And Benedict, being told of this mischance, came to the spot, and taking the handle out of the Goth's hand, and dropping the end of it into the lake, straightway the iron rose up from the bottom of the water and re-entered into its place. And the holy man returned the billhook to the Goth, saying, 'Take it and work, and be not afflicted.'

"And on a certain day, Placidus, the young monk, going to draw water, incautiously fell into the lake. Benedict, in his cell, knowing what had happened, called to Maurus and bade him go to the youth's assistance. And having asked and received his benediction, Maurus did so, and running over the water as if it had been dry land, caught him by the hair, as he was sinking, and brought him to the shore, and then only perceived that he had walked on the water. The man of God, Benedict, imputed this, not to his own merits, but to the obedience of Maurus; while Maurus, on the contrary, maintained that it was in virtue solely of Benedict's command. But Placidus himself intervened as arbiter in this contest of humility, saying, 'When I was dragged out, I saw above my head the goatskin robe[1] of the Abbot, and perceived that it was he himself who saved me from the waters.'

"And now the love of Christ spreading wider and wider through that region, and many forsaking the life of vanity for the yoke of the Redeemer, a certain Florentius, the priest of the neighbouring church, and the grandfather of this our present subdeacon Florentius, became greatly jealous and envious of Benedict, and, smitten by the malice of the old enemy, mixed poison in a cake and sent it to him as a present, and Benedict received it thankfully, but the guile was not hid from him. Wherefore he commanded a raven, which came every day to be fed by him, to carry it away to some spot where no man could find it. And the raven, after fluttering round and round it, and croaking as if unable or unwilling to touch it, at last flew away with it, and returned three hours afterwards for its accustomed meal.

"But the persecutions of Florentius still continuing, Benedict removed to Monte Cassino, then crowned by the temple of Apollo, the idol of the district; and preaching to the people, he converted them and overthrew the temple, and built on its site his new monastery. But the old enemy, greatly raging thereat, no longer secretly or by dream, but in

[1] The 'Mellotes,' worn in imitation of the Egyptian monks.

open vision now appeared to him (as he told his disciples), and with great clamour, with eyes and mouth of flame, exclaimed to him, 'Benedicte, Benedicte—nay rather Maledicte, accursed one! why persecutest thou me?' and denounced vengeance against him. And thenceforth he threw every obstacle in the way of the new edifice. On one occasion, in spite of their utmost efforts, the monks could not move a stone which had been cut for the building, till Benedict, being sent for, perceived him sitting upon it; he fled at the sign of the cross, and the stone was immediately raised and lodged in its place. At another time he raised a magical delusion, through which the whole kitchen appeared to be on fire, but while the brethren were hurrying with water to put it out, Benedict arrived, and at the sign of the cross that phantasm disappeared. On another occasion, during the progress of the building, S. Benedict was praying in his cell, when Satan looked in, and said that he was on his way to the monastery. The Saint sent with all speed to warn the brethren, but scarcely had the message been delivered when he threw down the wall, and crushed a young monk to death beneath it. Benedict ordered the body to be brought to him and laid in his cell, on the mat on which he was wont to pray, and shutting the door, he prayed more earnestly than usual, and that self-same hour the dead man revived, and he sent him out whole, to assist in repairing the wall by the fall of which he had been killed.

"And about this time the man of God began to possess the spirit of prophecy, to predict the future, and to announce things absent to those present. The brother of one of his monks, a layman, but very devout, and who was accustomed to come to him once a year, fasting, yielded, after several refusals, to the instances of a fellow traveller, who prevailed on him, by the attractions of food, a pleasant meadow and a fountain of clear water, to refresh himself during his journey. Presenting himself to Benedict in the evening, the Saint, who knew all that had passed, reproved him for his gluttony, and prescribed him penance.

"And Totila, king of the Goths, hearing that Benedict possessed the spirit of prophecy, and willing to prove him, attired Riggo, his armour-bearer, in his royal sandals, robes and crown, and sent him, with three of his chief Counts, Vulteric, Ruderic and Blidi, to the monastery. Benedict,

witnessing his approach from a lofty place whereon he sat, called out to him, 'Put off, my son, those borrowed trappings; they are not thine own.' And Totila, hearing of this, went himself to visit him, and perceiving him from a distance seated, he presumed not to approach, but prostrated himself on the earth, and would not rise till, after having been thrice bidden to do so by Benedict, the servant of Christ deigned to raise him himself, and chid him for his misdeeds, and in few words foretold him all that was to befal him, the years of his reign and the period of his death. All of which fell out accordingly. And from thenceforth Totila was less cruel than before.

"And when a famine prevailed greatly throughout Campania, and the five last loaves had been eaten in the monastery, and the brethren wore very long faces, Benedict reproved them, and passing the night in prayer, the following morning two hundred measures of meal were found at the door.

"And his sister Scholastica, a virgin dedicated to the Lord from her infancy, came once a year to see Benedict, who went down to visit her at a house not far distant, belonging to the monastery. And having once passed the whole day in prayer and praise with some of the brethren, and night coming on, they supped together, and while still at table, that holy woman besought him not to leave her, but to sit up till morning, discoursing concerning the joys of heaven. And Benedict replying that he could on no account sleep out of his cell, she clasped her fingers and placed them on the table, and leaning her head upon them, shed a flood of tears, praying to the Lord. The sky had till then been so clear that not a cloud was to be seen, but immediately such a storm of thunder and lightning arose, and such a deluge of rain came down, that, although the storm ceased at the very moment when she raised her head from the table, it was impossible for Benedict to leave the house, and they watched and held holy converse accordingly till the morning.

"And shortly before his decease, standing at the window by night, and praying to God, suddenly he perceived a great light, and (as he thereafter declared) the whole world was brought together before his eyes, collected, as under a single ray of the sun. For his spirit being dilated and rapt into God, he saw without difficulty everything that is beneath God.

"And at the hour of his death there appeared unto two of

the brethren, then absent and apart from each other, the self-same vision,—for they saw a path stretching from his cell up to heaven, strewed with robes of silk, and with numberless lamps burning all along it, ascending towards the East. And behold, a man, of majestic mien and in seemly attire, stood over against them, and asked, 'Whose that path was?' And they confessing that they knew not, he answered, 'This is the path through which Benedict, the beloved of God, is ascending to heaven.' And thereby they knew of his decease."

6. *Of S. Bruno.*

[Born c. A.D. 1030, died 1101. Founder of the Carthusian order, a branch of the Benedictines. Chiefly from the 'Storia di S. Brunone,' by Ercole Zanetti, Bologna, 4to, 1741.]

"S. BRUNO was born at Cologne before the middle of the eleventh century, and after completing his education, with the highest reputation, both there and at Paris, he removed to Rheims, where he became the Scholasticus, or superintendent of the schools of the diocese, and taught theology in the College. While thus occupied, a certain Raymond, Doctor of Theology, then in the highest repute for learning and holiness, and a most distinguished preacher, was taken ill and died, with every external mark of piety. His obsequies were prepared, and friends and acquaintance, including Bruno, were gathered round the bier, when, on attempting to lift it, the stiff dead corpse rose up and spoke, at intervals, 'Justo Dei judicio accusatus sum,'—'Justo Dei judicio judicatus sum'—'Justo Dei judicio condemnatus sum,' and then lay down again. From that moment Bruno determined to lead the life of angels and of solitude.

"Six of his friends joining in this resolution, three angels appeared to Bruno in a dream, instructing him to journey to Grenoble, where the bishop Hugo would further their wishes. About the same time Hugo saw in a dream seven stars rising from the ground, which seemed to lead him to the valley of the Chartreuse, near his residence, where Christ, appearing, commanded him to build a church. Bruno, meanwhile, and his companions, having distributed their property to the poor, departed from Rheims, and in due time arrived at Grenoble, where the bishop received them gladly, as expectant of their arrival, and recounted to them his dream. And after some

days he conducted them to the Chartreuse, and made over to them the property of the district, and built them a church and seven cells around it, and gave them a new and distinctive habit, since known as that of the Carthusian order. They lived here in the utmost austerity, in perpetual silence, occupying themselves in prayer and labour, and supporting themselves by the transcription of religious books.

"After six years' retirement Bruno was summoned to Rome by Urban II, to assist him with his counsels, and he went very reluctantly. But after many entreaties, and after refusing the archbishopric of Reggio, offered him by the Pope, he obtained permission to retire to Squillace, in Calabria, where he founded a new monastery named La Torre, the second of the order. And one day Roger, Count of Sicily, hunting in the forest, discovered him praying, and immediately dismounted out of reverence, and knelt before him, and had much discourse with him afterwards, offering him rich gifts, which Bruno declined. And not long afterwards, Sergius, a Greek, one of Roger's captains, undertook to murder him at the instigation of the Prince of Capua, with whom his master was at war in defence of the Papal authority against the anti-pope, Guibert. But when the night was come on which the deed was to be done, Bruno appeared to the Count in a dream, as he slept in his tent, and revealed the treachery, which Roger, awaking, immediately took measures to counteract. Roger thereafter bestowed many privileges on Bruno and his monastery.[1]

"Bruno remained during the rest of his life at La Torre, and died there in the odour of sanctity, on the sixth of October, 1101."

7. *Of S. Bernard.*

[Of the Cistercian branch of the Benedictines.—From Peter de Natalibus.]

"Bernard was born in the year of grace 1091, in Burgundy, of noble parents, and lived in holiness from his youth up, till the age of twenty-three, when he entered the Cistercian order, along with his three brothers, whom he had attracted to the angelical life by his example. On taking farewell of their father, they found their youngest brother, a boy, playing in the

[1] This was the first Roger, Count of Sicily—youngest of the twelve gallant sons of Tancred de Hauteville.

court of the castle, and the eldest said, 'Farewell, dear Nivard; you will now be lord of everything; we have forsaken all.'—'But you have taken heaven for your portion and left me earth only!' said Nivard, and soon afterwards he followed them to their retreat, as did eventually their father and sister, and thus the whole family were gathered to Christ.

"And being sent by the abbot to found the abbey of Clairvaux, Bernard gave himself more and more to abstinence and prayer, and became so abstracted from sense, that on one occasion he travelled for a whole day beside the lake of Lausanne without being aware of it.

"And miracles testified his sanctity. On a certain occasion, while dictating a letter in the open air, it began to rain; the monk who acted as his scribe, offered to rise, but Bernard forbade him, saying, 'Go on, for it is God's service,'—and he finished the letter in the midst of that shower of rain, without a drop wetting the paper. On another occasion an infinite multitude of flies had appeared in a certain monastery, and grievously annoyed the brethren,—which the man of God excommunicated, and on the morrow all the flies were found dead. And even in his boyhood, when, suffering from headache, a certain woman had offered to soothe him by singing, and he drove her indignantly away, the headache was immediately cured.

"And being devoted to the Blessed Virgin, and feeling, on a certain time, while engaged in writing concerning her excellency, extremely overworked and ill, he sent one of the brethren to pray for him in the church,—who prayed at three altars, to the Virgin, to S. Lawrence, and to S. Benedict. And at that moment the Virgin entered his cell, accompanied by these two Saints (or as some represent it by two angels), and touched him, and he was immeasurably refreshed and strengthened.

"And William, Duke of Aquitaine, a licentious man and a favourer of the Anti-pope, Anacletus, had deposed two bishops. S. Bernard, after vainly endeavouring to induce him to reinstate them, consecrated the host, and went forth to the Duke, who stood without, as one excommunicated, and summoned him to submit himself in the name of Christ, as personally present. His face seemed on fire, and his eyes to dart lightning as he spoke, and the Duke fell to the ground, and besought pardon, which the Saint granted, and the bishops were restored immediately.

"And thus living, he died also in holiness, departing from

the flesh on the twentieth of August, A.D. 1153, in his sixty third year."[1]

XXII. Legends of National and Local Saints.[2]

Of these—forming two classes, the one including the Apostles, or Missionary Saints of different countries or provinces, such as S. Augustine of England, S. Boniface of Germany, etc.; the other, saints of more restricted celebrity, as S. Sebald of Nuremberg, S. Raniere of Pisa, S. Zenobio of Florence, S. Fina of S. Gimignano, and many others—names frequently unknown in the calendars of the Church—I shall give no account here, as their histories have for the most part been illustrated by some one distinguished master, under whose works such notices will find more fitting place.

And for the same cause, I postpone for the present the legends connected with the 'Santa Casa' of Loretto, the 'Volto Santo' of Lucca, the 'Cintola' or girdle of the Blessed Virgin at Prato, etc.

XXIII. Table of the Symbols, or Emblems, of the more popular Saints of Christendom, as represented by the artists of the middle ages.

[To those desirous of entering deeper into this branch of symbolism, let me recommend the 'Ikonographie der Heiligen,' by Von Radowitz, Berlin, 1834, and 'Die Attribute der Heiligen,' by A von. M., Hanover, 1843—works of great value for reference, being arranged dictionary-wise, in the former according to the alphabetical order of the saints—in the latter, of the emblems.]

S. Agatha—usually carries a pair of pincers and her breasts,

[1] As already mentioned, the legends of S. Domenic, S. Francis, etc., will be found in the text of the following 'Sketches.'

[2] For these, Brocchi's or Razzi's histories of the Saints of Tuscany, Rader's 'Bavaria Sancta' and 'Pia' of which the original edition of 1615-28 is to be preferred, on account of the beautiful engravings by Raphael Sadeler), the 'Acta Sanctorum Belgii,' 6 vols. 4to. 1782, the essays of Dr. Milner in Carter's 'Ancient Sculpture and Painting of England,' etc. may be consulted—besides separate *opuscula* innumerable, and the immense collection of the Bollandists. The more general legendaries, moreover, although professedly inclusive only of Saints common to all Christendom, frequently embrace those peculiar to the province or country where they are published; those of Spain for instance, will be found in the 'Flos Sanctorum' of Villegas, and those of Great Britain and Ireland in Alban Butler, etc.

which were cut off during her martyrdom. After being taken back to prison, a venerable man entered and told her that he thought she might recover, and believing him a physician, she refused any medicament except from Christ,—but the old man, smiling, answered that he was S. Peter, and had been sent to her by Christ,—and immediately disappearing, she found herself whole and well :—

S. Agnes—is accompanied by a lamb, as emblematical of her name and her purity :—

S. Ambrose,—Doctor of the Church—bears a scourge, in allusion to his repulse of the Emperor Theodosius the Great from the Cathedral of Milan, after the massacre of Thessalonica,—*vide* Gibbon, chap. 27 :—

S. Andrew—the cross usually known by his name :—

S. Antony the Abbot (of Nitria)—a staff and a bell (denoting mendicancy), and a pig, in allusion to his having crushed the desires of the flesh, or to his having been originally a swineherd,—a tradition however discredited by the silence of S. Athanasius :—

S. Apollonia—carries a pair of pincers holding a tooth, all her teeth having been drawn in the course of her martyrdom :—

S. Augustine, Doctor of the Church—a heart, sometimes represented burning, or pierced with an arrow, allusive (it is supposed) to the metaphor in the ninth book of the Confessions, "Thou hadst pierced our hearts with thy charity,"—*ed. Lib. of the Fathers*, p. 156 :—

S. Barbara—either carrying, or standing beside the tower in which her pagan father had shut her up, that she might not be seen of men ; in building the bath he made two windows only, but she ordered the workman to add a third, and then descending into it, prayed that the water might be sanctified, and so baptized herself. Her father returning and enquiring why she had made the third window, she answered, " Because there are three who give light to the world, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost." Discovering that she was a Christian, he denounced her to the authorities, and ultimately beheaded her with his own hand :—

S. Bartholomew—is known by the knife, with which he was flayed alive :—

S. Benedict—by the cup, broken, in which poison was offered him, as related *supra*, in his legend, p. 138:—

S. Bernardino, the Franciscan—by a tablet, or disk (sometimes that of the sun), inscribed with the letters I Ꮒ S, which he was accustomed to write on pieces of parchment or paper, and distribute—and sometimes by a globe of fire, which is said to have descended on him from heaven, and removed an impediment in his speech which injured the eloquence of his preaching:—

S. Blaise (Biagio, *Ital.*)—by a comb or rake of iron, one of the instruments of his martyrdom:—

S. Catherine—by a broken wheel, set with knives, as described in her legend, *supra*, p. 62. She frequently wears a crown, as a princess:—

S. Catherine of Siena, of the third order of S. Domenic—by the stigmata of Our Saviour, miraculously inflicted upon her hands, feet and side:—

S. Cecilia—by a small organ, as the patroness of church-music, in allusion to her zeal in singing the praise of God,—and by a wreath of white and red roses, intermixed,—see her legend, *supra*, p. 58:—

S. Christina—by a millstone round her neck, with which, for confessing Christ, she was thrown into the lake of Bolsena, but angels supported her on the surface, and Our Saviour, descending from heaven, baptized her with his own hands, and gave her his own name, and commanded S. Michael to carry her to the shore—she was afterwards beheaded:—

S. Christopher—of gigantic stature, carries Our Saviour, as a little child, on his shoulder, as described in his legend, *supra*, p. 72:—

S. Clara (Chiara, *Ital.*), of the third order of S. Francis—in the dress of the order, carries the lily of chastity, or the receptacle of the host, with which she discomfited the Saracens when they attacked the monastery at Assisi:—

S. Domenic—is distinguished by a star on his head, and sometimes a dog lying at his feet, and holding in its mouth a blazing torch, in allusion to a dream of his mother, previous to his birth, that she had brought forth a dog that should set fire to the world:—

S. Dorothy—carries roses and apples. While led to martyrdom, a youth, named Theophilus, begged her, scoffingly, to send him some roses from the paradise of her spouse,

which she promised to do. And when about to be beheaded, an angel suddenly stood beside her, and presented her three apples and three roses, which he said he had brought her from the paradise of Christ; she besought him to deliver them to Theophilus, and he believed, and was martyred also :—

S. Elizabeth of Hungary—is represented crowned, and with a basket of bread, or of roses—according to the legend, that meeting her husband, while carrying bread to the poor, on his lifting the napkin to see what was beneath it the loaves were found miraculously changed into red and white roses. See her Life by the Comte de Montalembert :—

S. Francis—his hands, feet and side marked with the stigmata, according to the legend, *infra*, vol. ii. p. 38 :—

S. George—in armour, carrying the banner of the cross, and with a dragon at his feet. See his legend, *supra*, p. 63 :—

S. Gregory, the Great, Pope and Doctor of the Church—with a dove on his shoulder, or near his ear, as inspired by the Holy Ghost—Peter the Deacon having informed Paul, the biographer of Gregory, that he had seen the dove thus in communication with him while dictating his homilies on Ezekiel. *Opera* (*of S. Gregory*), tom. iv. col. 15, *ed. Bened.* :—

S. Helen, mother of Constantine—carrying the cross. See the legend, *supra*, p. 49 :—

S. James the Greater (Sant' Iago of Compostella)—as a pilgrim with staff and scallop-shell :—

S. James the Less—carrying a fuller's bar, the instrument of his martyrdom :—

S. Jerome—naked, and striking his breast with a stone, doing penance in the desert; or in the dress of a Cardinal, with his attendant lion, as noticed in his legend, *supra*, p. 127 :—

S. John the Baptist—carrying the cross and lamb :—

S. John the Apostle—a cup with a serpent rising out of it, in allusion to his having drunk poison unharmed. Part, at least, of his dress is always green. As an Evangelist, he is accompanied by the eagle, one of the four symbolical beasts of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse :—

S. Joseph—carries the rod, flowering, with the dove resting

upon it, according to the legend, *supra*, p. 27. He is always represented as an old man, and part of his dress is generally saffron :—

S. Jude—bears a club, the instrument of his martyrdom :—

Judas Iscariot—the purse,—his hair either gray or bistre in colour, and his robe yellow—bistre and yellow being colours of treachery :—

S. Laurence, the Deacon—the gridiron on which he was roasted alive, vide *infra*, vol. ii. p. 239 :—

S. Lucia—her eyes, which were plucked out in the course of her martyrdom, or with the wound in her neck of which she expired. Vide *infra*, vol. ii. p. 118 :—

S. Luke the Evangelist—is attended, as such, by an ox. He is sometimes represented painting the portrait of the Virgin —the fame of a Byzantine painter of the same name, author of many of the miraculous images preserved in Italy and elsewhere having been popularly transferred to him.

S. Margaret—bears a cross, and treads on the dragon which appeared to her when she prayed the Lord to show her, in visible form, the enemy she contended against; the monster was in the act of swallowing her when she made the sign of the cross, and killed it :—

S. Mark, the Evangelist—is, in that character, accompanied by the lion, of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse :—

S. Mary, the Blessed Virgin—carries, or is seated near, the lily of chastity, and is usually robed in blue and red, with a star upon her shoulder :—

S. Mary Magdalen—bears the cup of ointment, with which she anointed Our Saviour's feet ; she is robed in red, the colour of love :—

S. Matthew, Apostle and Evangelist—carries a purse, in allusion to his original vocation, or a sword, the instrument of his martyrdom, and is attended, in his character of Evangelist, by an angel :—

S. Matthias, the Apostle—bears a halbert, the instrument of his martyrdom :—

S. Michael the Archangel—is represented in armour treading on the devil, or holding the balance of good and evil :—

S. Nicholas—carries three golden balls (originally purses), in allusion to a legend, for which see *infra*, vol. ii. p. 227 :—

S. Paul—the sword, with which he was beheaded; the type of his countenance is traditional, from very early times :—

S. Peter—the keys,—his likeness is also traditional; in the ancient mosaics his hair is sometimes arranged in three distinct tires, concerning which (and the keys) see Ciampini's *Vetera Monimenta*, tom. i. p. 272. He is generally robed in blue and yellow :—

S. Peter Martyr, the Dominican—has a hatchet or knife sticking in his head; vide *infra*, vol. ii. p. 148 :—

S. Philip, the Apostle—carries a cross, significative of his martyrdom :—

S. Roch—a staff, and wears a pilgrim's robe, partly drawn aside, so as to expose a plague-boil on his left thigh—allusive to an illness contracted in attending the sick at Piacenza :—

S. Sebastian—is pierced with arrows, or holds one in his hand: see his legend, *infra*, vol. ii. p. 276 :—

S. Simon, the Apostle—carries a saw, the instrument of his martyrdom :—

S. Stephen, the Protomartyr—a stone,—which sometimes rests on his head :—

S. Thomas, the Apostle—a carpenter's square, as patron of architects, in allusion to a legend of his having engaged to build a palace in the Roman fashion for Gundafor king of India, which on the return of the latter after an absence of two years, and his complaint that nothing had been done, the Apostle interpreted as implying the edification of the Church, which he had greatly advanced by conversion of the Gentiles during the interval in question,—see the second book of Ordericus Vitalis :—

S. Thomas Aquinas, Dominican—a star on his breast, and the tabernacle of the host in his hands, in allusion to his composition of the office for the feast of Corpus Domini :—

Tobias—the fish :—

S. Ursula—an arrow; see her legend, *supra*, p. 70 :—

S. Veronica—a handkerchief, imprinted with the likeness of Our Saviour, according to the legend, that she wiped his face with it while on the way to Calvary, and that the divine likeness, the *vera icon*, was miraculously transferred to it.

I may close this list with a quotation from Sir David Lindsay's 'Monarchie,' or 'Dialog betwix Experience and ane Courteour:'

'*Of Images usit amang Christian Men.*'

COURTIER.

"Father, yet ane thing I wald spier;
Behold, in every kirk and quier,
Throuch Christendome, in burgh and land,
Imagis, maid with mannis hand,—
To quhome bene gevin divers names,
Sum Peter and Paull, sum Johne and James;
Sanct Peter, carvit with his keyis,
Sanct Michaell, with his wingis and weyis;[1]
Sanct Katherine, with her swerd and quheil,[2]
Ane hynde set up besyde Sanct Geill:
It wer too lang for till descryve
Sanct Francis, with his woundis fyve,
Sanct Tredwall, als, there may be sene,
Quhilk on ane prik hes baith hir ene,—
Sanct Paull, weill paintit, with ane sworde,
As he wald fecht at the first worde,—
Sanct Apolline on altar standis,
With all hir teeth intill hir handis, . . .
With costlie colouris, fyne and fair—
Ane thowsand mo I micht declair . . .
All thir on altar stately standis,
Priestis cryand for their offrandis;
To quhome we commons on our kneis
Does worschip all thir imagereis,
In kirk, in queir, and in the closter,
Prayand to them our Paternoster,—
In pilgrimage from toun to toun,
With offerand and with orisoun,
To them aye babbland on our beidis,
That they wald help us in our neidis.
Quhat differis this, declair to me,
From the Gentilis idolatrie?"

EXPERIENCE.

"Gif that be trew that thou reportis,
It gais right neir thir samin sortis:
Bot wee, be counsall of clergie,
Has licence to mak imagerie,

[1] Scales. [2] Wheel.

Quhilk of unlernit bene the buikis;[1]
For when lawit[2] folk upon them luikis,
It bringeth to rememberance
Of Sanctis lyvis the circumstance,—
How, the faith for to fortifye,
They sufferit pane richt paciently:
Seand the image of the rood,[3]
Men suld remember on the blood
Quhilk Christ, intill his passioun,
Did sched for our salvatioun;
Or quhen thou seis ane portraiture
Of blyssit Marie, virgine pure,
Ane bonnie babe upone hir knee,
Then in thy mynd remember thee
The wordis quhilk the prophet said,
How sche suld be baith mother and maid:
But quha that sittis doun on their kneis,
Prayand till ony imagereis
With orisoun or offerand,
Kneland with cap into their hand,
Na difference bene, I say to thee,
From the Gentilis idolatrie."

Sir David adds a long and curious list of the pilgrimages then popular in Scotland, most of the principal Saints being patrons or protectors against individual distempers or calamities—as S. Roch against the plague, S. Apollonia against the tooth-ache, S. Barbara against thunder and lightning, etc. etc.

"Howbeit thir[4] simple pepill rude
Think their intentioun be bot gude;
Wo be to priestis, I say for me,
Quhilk suld schaw them the veritie!"

XXIV. Floating Legends.

Of these—a numerous class, either attached to the names of Saints of celebrity, whose lives are matter of history rather than legend, or scattered, like flowers or weeds, as their worth may qualify them, nameless and unowned, on the tide of tradition—some are very beautiful, parables of the deepest wisdom; others again are purely ludicrous, inventions for the recommendation of particular doctrines of the Church during the middle ages. A store of both may be found in the 'Vitæ Patrum' of Rosweyde, in the folio of Herolt, entitled

[1] The famous argument of Gregory the Great against the Iconoclasts.
[2] Lay. [3] Cross. [4] These.

'Sermones Discipuli de Sanctis,' with the 'Promptuarium Exemplorum' that follows it,—in the 'Gesta Romanorum' (of which the old English version has been so admirably edited by Sir Frederick Madden), and in other works of the fifteenth and preceding centuries. I subjoin a few specimens of both varieties.

1. *That the Body of Christ is verily and indeed present, body and blood, in the Holy Eucharist.*—"An ancient hermit dwelt in Scitis, who although of great fame, being ignorant (*idiota*) and simple, maintained that the bread which we eat is not in very nature the body of Christ, but only so after a figure. And two other ancient hermits, seeing this, and having compassion on him because he erred in simplicity, spoke to him thereupon, exhorting him to believe as Holy Church teacheth. But he answered, 'Unless I know this thing more clearly, I cannot believe.' And they agreed together to pray to God, that the truth might be manifested to him. And God heard their prayer, and made known the truth thus to that simple hermit. Coming all three to the church the following Lord's day, and sitting together, they saw, after the bread had been placed on the altar and consecrated, as it were a little child above the altar, and when the priest began to break the host, it appeared to them that an angel descended from heaven with a knife, and divided that child, and received the blood in the chalice. And the sacrifice being completed, when that hermit went up with the others to communicate, it appeared to him that to him alone was given a particle of the flesh of that child, all bloody, and fearing greatly, he cried out and said, 'Lord! I believe verily that the bread consecrated on thy altar is thy body, and the cup thy blood!' And immediately the flesh appeared to him turned into bread, and he communicated. And thanking God, he returned to his cell."—*Vite*, lib. iii, cap. 7; *Rosw.* lib. v, p. 635.

2. *Of the benefits of Fasting, and the necessity of Confession and Communion before death.*—"A pilgrim journeying to Rome for devotion, and going by chance out of the road, perceived the head of a man, which was continually opening and shutting its eyes; and being much frightened, and looking earnestly at it, the head spoke to him and said, 'Why dost thou thus stare at me?' And the pilgrim answered, 'Because I wonder at thee, that thou canst speak, being without a body.' The head answered, 'Marvel not, for God willeth not

that my soul depart till I have communicated from the hand of the priest.' The pilgrim answered, 'Tell me how thou hast obtained this grace from God.' The head replied, 'Know, that every year I fasted on bread and water on the vigil of the Annunciation, and on that account I cannot die without confession.' The pilgrim said, 'If thou wishest it, I will carry thee to the Pope.' The head answered, 'If you will do so, I shall be very much obliged to you.' Then the pilgrim took up the head, and carried it to the Pope and Cardinals, and the head spoke before them all. And the holy father, assembling the people, showed them this miracle of the Mother of Christ, and after the head had received the holy sacrament, the soul immediately departed, and entered paradise."—*Vite de' SS. Padri*, lib. vi.

3. *Of the duty and benefit of Alms-giving.*—"Peter was a rich man and a miser. And many poor men, standing in the sun and discoursing of good alms-givers, one of them blaming Peter, his fellow said, 'What will you give me if I get an alms from him?' And the rest reputing it impossible, they laid a wager upon it. And going to Peter's house, he awaited his return home. And as it pleased God, as Peter returned, a servant was entering in, carrying a basket of bread, and Peter seeing the beggar, and having nothing at hand to strike him with, seized one of the loaves and flung it in his face,—but the beggar ran and picked it up, and fled, and told his companions what he had got from Peter.

"But after two days Peter sickened nigh unto death, and saw at night, in a vision, how he was led to the judgment-seat of God, and how all his works, good and evil, were put into the balance; and there assembled on the one side a great troop of devils, black and terrible, ready to seize on him, and on the other stood angels, in the likeness of beautiful youths, shining in white raiment, to aid and defend him. And they sought if they could find aught of good in him, and finding none, seeing that the evil preponderated, they stood sorrowful, and one said to the other, 'Have we then no part at all in him?' And the other said, 'Verily we find nothing good of him except a loaf which he gave to Christ two days ago, and even that not willingly.' And taking the loaf, he placed it in the empty scale, and it weighed down the evil so far that the balance was equal. Then the angels said to Peter, 'Go! add more alms to this loaf, for if not, be sure those devils will

have thee!' And waking, and perceiving the grace of God which had shown him this, he became from thenceforth modest, wise and pitiful, so that he even took the clothes off his back to give in alms, and finally sold himself as a slave, that he might give the price to the poor."—*Vite*, lib. iv, cap. 14; *Rosw.* lib. i, p. 189.

4. *Of the merits of Christ as making up the deficiency of human righteousness.*—"A man there was, that was seke nere to the dethe, ande sawe ij Aungells, a goode ande a bade; the which ij wedyne [weighed] in ballaunce his werkes, bothe goode and bade. Ande when he sawe his goode werkes were but fewe, then he seide, 'A! Lorde Jhesu Criste, shalle it not helpe me that thou deyeste for me, ande suffrede thy pynefulle passione for me, ande was naylede to the crosse for me?' Ande when he hade seide thus, he wepte faste. Ande anone a grete nayle felle into the balaunce, where his goode werkes were; and than they weyede mych more than his badde: ande this man was sauyde, blessyde be God! Deo gracias. Amen."—*Gesta Romanorum*, p. 426.[1]

5. *Of the love of Christ.*—"Beyonde the see was a noble ladie, on whose house alle-way the sone shone on the day, ande on the nyghte the mone. Of this many men mervaylede. Atte last the fame of this come to the byshope, a worthy man: ande he wente for to se here, hopynge that she was of grete penaunce in clothinge, or in mete, or in othere thinges. Ande when he come, he saw here alle wey mery ande glade. The Bishope saide, 'Dame, what ete ye?' She answeride ande saide, that dyverse metes and delicate. Then he askede if she vsede the hayre? She sayde, 'Nay.' After this the byshope mervaylede, that Gode wolde shew so grete mervaylle for such a woman. Ande when he hade take his leve of the ladie, ande was gone his way, he thought he wolde aske here more of anothere thinge, ande wente againe to here and said, 'Loue ye not mekille Jhesu Criste?' She said, 'Yis, I loue him, for he is alle my loue; for when I thinke on his swetnesse, I may not withholde myself for gladnesse and

[1] Both the preceding legends illustrate the popular opinion that the good and evil actions of each individual were weighed by the angels after death, and his lot determined accordingly. The same idea prevailed among the Hindoos and Egyptians, and is frequently depicted in the tombs of the Pharaohs. S. Michael figures in these legends as the heir or representative of Thoth, through the Grecian Hermes, or Mercury.

myrthe that I euer fele in hyme.'"—*Gesta Romanorum*, p. 411.[1]

6. *Of S. Augustine and the angel.*—While meditating on his work 'De Trinitate,' S. Augustine betook himself to the sea-shore, and as he walked, he beheld a little child attempting to empty the ocean with a shell into a hole which he had dug in the sand. And reproving him for his folly, "Is yours less," said the child, "in deeming that you can comprehend in your finite capacity, or express to others, the unfathomable mystery of the Trinity?"

7. Another (finally), and a very beautiful legend—of a monk on whose heart the benumbing thought had settled. "Must not the bliss of eternity pall at last? Shall we not weary of heaven?"—and who, after having been beguiled into a wood by the song of a bird, and having passed, as it seemed, an hour there listening to it, returned to the monastery, to find that a whole generation had passed away during his absence, and to learn by this experience that an eternity will not suffice to exhaust the bliss of Paradise—has been related with much feeling and beauty by the Rev. R. Chenevix Trench, in his volume entitled 'The Story of Justin Martyr, and other Poems,' 1836.

XXV. Of the Signs which shall precede the Second Coming of Our Lord.

These, as familiarised to the Christian world by S. Jerome, are enumerated in one of the noblest passages of Jeremy Taylor:—"The majesty of the Judge and the terrors of the judgment shall be spoken aloud by the immediate forerunning accidents, which shall be so great violences to the old constitutions of nature, that it shall break her very bones, and disorder her till she be destroyed. Saint Jerome relates out of the Jews' books, that their doctors used to account fifteen

[1] It is evident that a very different spirit from that of pure asceticism—that namely of the regular priesthood as distinguished from the monastic orders—animates this beautiful legend. A similar feeling is traceable in another, I believe of Italian origin, of a lady of rank who vexed herself with the thought that her domestic interfered with her devotional duties, and on one occasion when she had been called away from Church by some sudden summons, found on returning that the pages that she had missed in her breviary had been re-written in letters of gold, and that an angel had taken her place and prayed in her stead during her absence.

days of prodigy immediately before Christ's coming, and to every day assign a wonder, any one of which if we should chance to see in the days of our flesh, it would affright us into the like thoughts which the old world had, when they saw the countries round about them covered with water and the Divine vengeance; or as those poor people near Adria and the Mediterranean sea, when their houses and cities are entering into graves, and the bowels of the earth rent with convulsions and horrid tremblings. The sea (they say) shall rise fifteen cubits above the highest mountains, and thence descend into hollowness and a prodigious drought; and when they are reduced again to their usual proportions, then all the beasts and creeping things, the monsters and the usual inhabitants of the sea shall be gathered together, and make fearful noises to distract mankind: the birds shall mourn and change their songs into threnes and sad accents: rivers of fire shall rise from the East to West, and the stars shall be rent into threads of light, and scatter like the beards of comets; then shall be fearful earthquakes, and the rocks shall rend in pieces, the trees shall distil blood, and the mountains and fairest structures shall return unto their primitive dust; the wild beasts shall leave their dens, and come into the companies of men, so that you shall hardly tell how to call them, herds of men or congregations of beasts; then shall the graves open and give up their dead, and those which are alive in nature and dead in fear shall be forced from the rocks whither they went to hide them, and from caverns of the earth where they would fain have been concealed; because their retirements are dismantled, and their rocks are broken into wider ruptures, and admit a strange light into their secret bowels; and the men being forced abroad into the theatre of mighty horrors, shall run up and down, distracted and at their wits' end; and then some shall die, and some shall be changed, and by this time the elect shall be gathered together from the four quarters of the world, and Christ shall come along with them to judgment."—*Sermons, etc., Works*, tom. v, p. 13, *ed. Heber.* It may be added, that the mysterious incarnation of evil, Antichrist, is never omitted in the Christian representations of these portents preliminary to the Last Day.[1]

[1] The Jewish tradition has been much amplified since S. Jerome's time, especially as regards Antichrist, or as he is styled, Armillus, who, according to the 'Abakat Rucal,' is to be born at Rome, to declare himself the Mes-

XXVI. Of the Last Judgment.

The scenery of the Last Judgment, in popular estimation, seems to have been gathered partly from the Bible, partly from the ancient traditions of the Oriental, and more especially the Greek Christians. The Saviour is to descend in clouds above the valley of Jehoshaphat, attended by the nine orders of angels—the cross, the crown and other instruments of the Passion borne around him, the five wounds shining like rubies, the Virgin Mary attendant on his right hand, the Baptist on the left, accompanied respectively by the Saints of the Old and New Testament—the whole forming a vast amphitheatre of glory. The Book of Life is then to be opened and the trumpet blown, summoning man to judgment. The angels are to separate the good from the wicked; the latter are to be cast into hell; the former, transfigured and perfected, to be translated to heaven to reign with Christ in glory for ever and ever.

I may close these notices with a translation of the celebrated hymn 'Dies Iræ,' as expressive of the feelings of dread and almost despair with which the Christians of the middle ages—taught to look on Christ as Jehovah rather than the merciful Mediator through whose atoning blood and all-sufficient merits the sinner is reconciled to his Maker—looked forward to the awful consummation of all things:—

DIES IRÆ, DIES ILLA, etc.

"Day of wrath, and doom of fire—
(Hark the Seer's, the Sibyl's lyre!)
Earth and Heaven shall expire.

"How each heart will thrill with fear
When Christ Jesus shall appear,
Sifting all things, Judge severe!

"At the trumpet's hoarse command,
Echoing through Death's dreary land,
Each before the throne must stand.

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siah, receive the homage of the Romans and their king, acknowledge the Law of the Christians, pervert all nations, persecute the Jews, and finally meet Messiah, the Son of David, in battle, and be destroyed by fire from heaven. See Stehelin's 'Traditions of the Jews,' tom. ii, pp. 200 *sqq*.

" Death and Nature shall, aghast,
See all generations past
Rising, answering to the blast.

" Writ without, and writ within,
Lo ! displayed, the Book wherein
Record lies of every sin !

" Nothing done in secrecy
Shall elude the Searcher's eye,
Shall escape its penalty.

" What shall I, a sinner, plead—
Whom resort to in my need,
When the just shall scarcely speed ?

" King of dread ! whose mercy free
Saveth those that saved shall be—
Fount of pity, pity me !

" Think, sweet Jesus ! 't was my woe
Brought thee thence to bleed below—
Be my Saviour, not my foe !

" 'Twas for me that thou didst deign
To endure the Cross's pain—
Be that passion not in vain !

" Judge that judgest righteously,
Grant to me indemnity
Ere that day of reckoning be !

" Lo ! I groan beneath the load,
Conscience-stricken by thy rod—
Spare thy suppliant, oh my God !

" Mary was by thee forgiven—
By thy grace the thief won heaven,
Hope to me too thou hast given !

" Worthless are my prayers, I know,
Yet in mercy hear me !—so
Shall I scape Gehenna's woe.

" At thy right hand, 'mong thy sheep,
For me, Lord ! a station keep,
Lest eternal death I sleep.

" Silenced that accursed throng,
Bound in fiery fetters strong—
Speak me thy redeemed among !

" Suppliant, heart-wrung, at thy knee,
In this last extremity,
Thus I cast my lot on thee ! "

CHOIR.

"On thee, O Lord!—
In that day of wrath and sighs,
When from ashes man shall rise
Unto judgment, hear our prayer,
Spare this sinner, hear and spare—

Spare him, O Lord! pitiful Jesus! and give unto him rest for evermore, Amen!"

GENERAL CLASSIFICATION

OF

SCHOOLS AND ARTISTS, ETC.[1]

INTRODUCTORY.

ROMAN AND BYZANTINE ART.

PERIOD OF PREPARATION.

From the Establishment of Christianity till the Self-assertion of the Teutonic over the Classic Element of Modern Europe, — otherwise, from the Commencement of the Fourth to that of the Thirteenth Century—and afterwards.

I. Roman Art.

1. Architecture of the Catacombs.
2. Christian Architecture of Rome.
   Basilicas, Baptisteries, and Sepulchral Chapels.

[1] This must be regarded as merely an approximation to a correct classification. The principle adopted is that of influence as opposed to locality, according to the proverb, "Non ubi nascitur, sed ubi pascitur." Sometimes I have found it advisable to introduce the same name more than once, but, as a general rule, when an artist has passed through different schools, he is classed under that in which his genius has found its most congenial development. It has been my object, moreover, that each great master should be understood by those who have preceded him. The dates refer either to the birth or death of the artists, or to the periods within which they flourished. They have been added for the sake of convenience, as usually current. I need scarcely observe that a complete classification should include artists in wood-carving, in *cisellatura*, or goldsmiths' work, in medal-casting, gem and seal cutting, glass, miniature and enamel painting, in engraving, in *tarsia*, or marqueterie, embroidery, etc.—all of them legitimate and interesting branches of Christian Art.

3. Sculpture and Painting of the Catacombs, and ancient Roman School of Painting, as perpetuated North and South of the Alps during the Middle Ages.

II. Byzantine Art.

1. Architecture of Byzantium.
2. Design—Traditional Compositions.
3. Monuments of Byzantine Sculpture, Mosaic and Painting, till the Decadence in the Eleventh Century.
4. Monuments of Byzantine Sculpture, Mosaic and Painting, from the Revival under the Comneni in the Twelfth Century.

CHRISTIAN ART OF MODERN EUROPE.

PERIOD I.

From the Settlement of the Lombards till the Restoration of Classical Learning and the Age of Cosmo de' Medici,—otherwise from the Middle of the Sixth to the Middle of the Fifteenth Century—and afterwards.

ARCHITECTURE.

Development of the Christian Element, Spirit—Lombard and Gothic, or Pointed Architecture—Rise of Sculpture and Painting—Expression.

I. Lombard and Gothic Architecture.

1. Lombard Architecture, South and North of the Alps.
   - i. Early Lombard, Ecclesiastical and Civil.
   - ii. Late or Florid Lombard, Ecclesiastical and Civil.
2. Gothic Architecture, North and South of the Alps.
   - i. Northern, or pure Gothic, Ecclesiastical and Civil, in its different stages of development and decline.
   - ii. Italian or Tuscan Gothic, School of Niccola Pisano, or of Pisa.

[Both superseded by the 'Cinquecento' style.

II. Sculpture of the Lombards, and Italico-Byzantine Revivals in Sculpture, Mosaic and Painting, anterior to the Ascendancy of Niccola Pisano.

1. Lombard Sculpture—as associated
   - i. With Early Lombard Architecture.
   - ii. With Florid Lombard Architecture.
     - Wiligelmo, Modena, fl. c. 1100.
     - Biduino, Pisa, fl. c. 1150.
     - Bonanno, Pisa, fl. 1174-86.
       - [Influence on Niccola Pisano.
     - Bened. degli Antelami Parma, fl. 1178-1216.
     - The Cosmati Family, Rome, 13th cent., etc.

2. Mosaics.
   - Fra Giac. da Turrita, Siena, fl. 1225-90.
     - The Cosmati, Rome.
       - Pietro Cavallini, Rome, 1259-1334.
   - Andrea Tafi, Florence, 1213-94.
   - Gaddo Gaddi, Florence, 1239-1312.
   - Andrea Orcagna, c. 1300-75.

3. Painting.
   - Guido, Siena, fl. 1221.
     - Diotisalvi, Siena, fl. 1227-78.
       - Ugolino, Siena, fl. 1284.
   - Giunta, Pisa, fl. 1202-55.
     - Succession at Pisa.
   - Margaritone, Arezzo, fl. 1262-75.
   - Cimabue, Florence, 1240-1302.
     - [Giotto.
   - Buffalmacco (Bonamico di Crist.), Florence, fl. 1311-51.
     - [The Orcagna family.
   - Tomaso de' Stefani, Naples, c. 1230-c. 1310.
     - Filippo Tesauro, Naples, c. 1260-c. 1320.
       - [Messer Simone.
   - Bertolino of Piacenza and Niccolò of Reggio, fl. c. 1260.
   - Paolo Veneziano, Niccolò Semitecolo, and Lorenzo, Venice, fl. 1333-58; fl. 1367; fl. 1371.
   - Revival of the Primitive Roman or Classic School in Lombardy—Cremona, Verona, etc.

[Superseded everywhere by the influence of Niccola Pisano.

III. Niccola Pisano and his School—Rise and Restoration of Sculpture, in connexion with Gothic Architecture—Preparation for Ghiberti and Donatello.

1. Niccola Pisano, Pisa, fl. 1233-76.
2. Succession of Niccola.

i. At Pisa.
Giovanni Pisano, fl. 1274-1311.
[Andrea Pisano, Agostino and Agnolo, and many German pupils.
Arnolfo di Lapo, 1232-1300.
Margaritone, Arezzo, fl. 1262-75.
Giov. di Balduccio Pisano, fl. 1333-47.
Succession, W. Lombardy.
ii. At Florence.
Andr. (di Ugolino) Pisano, fl. 1299-1344.
Andrea Orcagna, c. 1300-75.
iii. At Siena.
Agost. and Agnolo, fl. 1286-1330.
Giac. Lanfrani, Vicenza, fl. 1347.
Jacobello and Piet. Paolo, Venice, fl. 1338-94.
Succession, E. Lombardy and Venice.
Goro, fl. 1323.
Niccolò Aretino, fl. 1383.
Giac. della Quercia, fl. 1390-1438.
[Anton. di Federigo, Vecchietta Civitali, etc.
iv. At Naples.
Pietro de' Stefani, c. 1230-c. 1310.
The two Masuccios, 1230-c. 1300; 1291-1387.
Andrea Ciccione, fl. 1414-55.
[Agn. Aniello Fiore.
[Superseded everywhere by the influence of Ghiberti and Donatello.

IV. Giotto and his School, the Giotteschi—Rise and Restoration of Painting in connexion with Gothic Architecture — Influence of Niccola Pisano—Dramatic—Sympathy with the Guelph or Classic Element — Patronized by the Franciscans — Preparation for Masaccio, etc.

1. Giotto di Bondone, 1267-1337.

2. Pupils of Giotto.

i. Proselytes from preexistent schools.
Pietro Cavallini, Rome, 1259-1334.
Messer Simone, Naples, fl. 1327.
Francesco di Simone, fl. 1350.
Colantonio del Fiore, fl. 1400.
[Lo Zingaro.

ii. Immediate Pupils.
Taddeo Gaddi, 1300-c. 1366.
[Giov. da Milano.
[Giac. da Casentino.
Stefano, 1301-50.
Giottino (Tomaso di Stef.), 1324-56.

3. School of Taddeo Gaddi in Tuscany.

i. Principal and purer branch.
Giov. da Milano, fl. c. 1371.
Painter of the Passion at Assisi.
Angelo Gaddi, 1326-89.
Antonio Veneziano, 1309-83.
Gherardo Starnina, 1354-1406.
[Influence, possibly, on Spain.
[Masolino.
[Masaccio.

Don Lorenzo degli Angeli, fl. 1413.
Cennino Cennini, † old, 1437.

ii. Inferior branch — mingled influence of the old Roman School.
Giac. da Casentino, 1310-80.
Spinello Spinelli, Arezzo, fl. 1361-1407.
Lor. di Bicci, Florence, fl. 1375-1445.
Marco da Montepulciano, fl. 1448.

4. Giotteschi of Lombardy.

i. Mingled influence of the old Roman School.
Guariento, Padua, fl. 1365.
[Squarcione, Padua.

ii. Purely Giottesque.
Giusto Menabuoi, at Padua, fl. 1378.
Aldighieri, Jacopo Avanzi, etc., Padua, fl. c. 1380.
Giac. da Verona, fl. 1397.
Miretto, etc., Padua, 1423-41.
Michelino, Milan.

5. Giotteschi of Umbria.

Oderigi da Gubbio, † 1299.
Allegretto Nuzio, Fabriano, fl. 1368.
Gentile da Fabriano, fl. 1418-30.
[Influence on Fra Angelico, Benozzo Gozzoli, Pisanello, Pinturicchio, Carpaccio, etc.

[Superseded everywhere by the influence of Ghiberti and Donatello, through Masaccio, Uccello, Verrocchio and Squarcione.

V. School of Siena—Rise and Restoration of Painting, in connexion with Gothic Architecture —Influence of Niccola Pisano—Contemplative —Sympathy with Byzantine Art and with the Ghibelline or Teutonic Element—Patronized by the Dominicans — Preparation for Fra Angelico and Perugino.

1. The Fathers of the School.

Mino di Simone, fl. 1287-1303.
Duccio di Buoninsegna, fl. 1282-1339.

2. Succession of Mino.

Simon di Memmo, c. 1285-1344.
Lippo di Memmo, Fra Martino, etc.
[Influence on Sano di Pietro, etc.

3. Succession of Duccio.

Pietro and Ambr. di Lorenzo, fl. 1319-55; 1330-77.
Ugolino di Prete Ilario, Orvieto, fl. 1356-70.
Bartolo di Maestro Fredi, fl. 1356.
Andrea di Vanni, fl. 1373, etc.
[Influence on Taddeo di Bartolo and Giov. di Paolo.
Berna, fl. 1367-81.
Pietro di Puccio, Orvieto, fl. 1370-92.

4. Influence of Ambr. di Lorenzo and of the Semi-Byzantine Ugolino.

Taddeo di Bartolo, 1351-† after 1414.
[Influence on Fra Angelico.
Influence on Umbria.
Pietro di Dom. di P., Montepulciano, fl. 1420.
Martinellus, Assisi, fl. 1422.
Bartol. di Tomaso, Foligno, fl. 1430.
[Niccolò Alunno.
[Bened. Bonfigli, Perugia.
[Perugino.

Domenico di Bartolo, Siena, fl. 1438-45.
[Influence on Pinturicchio.

Vecchietta, Neroccio, etc.

5. Succession of Duccio and Mino, the latter prevailing.

Giovanni di Paolo, fl. 1428-62.
Sano di Pietro, fl. 1420-62.
Matteo da Gualdo, fl. 1468.
Matteo di Giovanni, fl. 1462-91.
[Luca Signorelli.

6. Mosaics of the pavement in the Duomo.

[Superseded by the influence of Ghiberti and Donatello, chiefly through Uccello.

VI. Semi-Byzantine Succession at Florence — Influence of Niccola Pisano—Orcagna and Fra Angelico—Contemplative—Chiefly patronized by the Dominicans—Preparation for Verrocchio and Perugino.

1. Andrea (di Cione) Orcagna, c. 1300-75.
Francesco Traini, fl. 1341.

2. Fra Angelico da Fiesole, 1387-1455.
Zanobio Strozzi, 1412-66.
Dom. di Michelino, fl. 1450-65.
[Benozzo Gozzoli, Cosimo Rosselli, etc.

[Superseded by the influence chiefly of Donatello, through Verrocchio, who springs apparently from this succession, and Uccello also.

VII. Primitive School of Bologna, in connexion with Gothic Architecture—Influence of Niccola Pisano.

1. Franco and his Succession.
Franco Bolognese, fl. c. 1300.
Vitale dalle Madonne, fl. 1320-45.
Lippo Dalmasio, fl. 1376-1409.
Simon de' Crocefissi, fl. 1377.
Jacobus, fl. 1377, etc.

2. Frescoes presumed to be by this school at Parma.

[Superseded by the influence of Ghiberti and Donatello, through Squarcione.

VIII. Sculpture and Painting North of the Alps, in connexion with Lombard and Gothic Architecture—Influence, partly of Niccola Pisano, partly apparently of some independent contemporary sculptor, probably in Germany; subsequently, mere Imitation of Nature—Preparatory for the great struggle of Imagination and Reason in Italian Painting, which distinguishes the Second Period of European Art, and for the development of 'Genre' under the Fourth.

1. Early Sculpture and Painting North of the Alps.

i. Sculpture, as associated
(1) With Early Lombard Architecture.
(2) With Florid Lombard and Early Gothic.
(3) With Decorated or Complete Gothic.
[1] In France.
[2] In England.
[3] In Germany.
(*a*) School of Cologne.
(*b*) School of Nuremberg.
Early Artists.
Adam Krafft, fl. 1492-1501.
Peter Vischer, 1460-1529.
(*c*) The Godl family of Tyrol, fl. 1529.
(*d*) Veit Stoss, Cracow, 1447-90.

ii. Traces of the primitive Roman school of Painting, N. of the Alps.
Painters at Ingelheim, temp. Charlemagne, and elsewhere under the Carlovingian dynasty, and afterwards,—in England till the end of the fifteenth century.

iii. Painting—School of Cologne—Influence of Byzantium and of Niccola Pisano.
Hans of Cologne, fl. 1307.
Meister Wilhelm, fl. 1380-1410.
Meister Stephan.
Johannes de Coloniâ, fl. 1440.
Giov. Alamanno and others settled at Padua.
[Influence on the primitive school of Venice.
[Superseded by the school of Van Eyck.

2. School of Van Eyck, or of the Netherlands.

The Brothers Van Eyck and their followers.
(1) Hubert and John van Eyck, Bruges, 1366-1426; c. 1390-1445.
Margaret van Eyck, † before 1426.
Gerard vander Meire, Ghent, † 1447.
Roger of Bruges, fl. 1445-62.
Hugo vander Goes, Bruges, † c. 1480.
Roger vander Weyde, Brussels, † 1529.

Antonello of Messina, fl. 1445-93.
[Influence on Venice, Florence, and Naples, and in a less degree on Spain.
(2) Hans Memling, Bruges, fl. 1450-99.
[Influence on Venice and Naples.

Israel van Mekenen, Barth. de Bruyn, Jean de Mehlem, etc.
(3) Quentin Matsys, Antwerp, 1460-1529.
[Influence on the later Flemish school.

(4) Mabuse, Van Orley, and the Italianisers of Antwerp—imitators chiefly of Raphael.
[1] John de Mabuse, fl. 1495-1562.
Lambert Lombard, 1500-60.
Francis Floris, 1511-70.
Martin Vos, 1531-1604.
The Franck family.
The Porbus family.
Abraham Bloemaert, 1567-1647.
Cornel. Poelemburgh, 1586-1660.
[Honthorst, Rembrandt, etc.
[2] Bernard van Orley, c. 1490-1560.
Michael Coxcie, 1497-1592.
Gaspar Crayer, 1582-1669.
[3] Third succession, through
Adam van Oort, of Antwerp, 1557-1641, and
Otto Venius, of Leyden, 1556-1634.
[Rubens.
(5) Van Eyck's school in Holland.
Albert van Ouwater, fl. c. 1430.
Gerard van Harlem, † c. 1450.
Cornel. Engelbrechtsen, 1468-1533.
Lucas de Leyden, 1504-33.
[Influence of the preceding on Italy.
John Schoreel, 1495-1562.
Martin van Heemskerk, 1498-1574, etc.
[Superseded by the development of 'Genre,' the peculiar glory of the modern Dutch School.

3. Schools of Upper Germany.
i. Predecessors of Albert Dürer.
Martin Schöngauer, Colmar, c. 1420-99.
Michael Wohlgemuth, Nuremberg, 1434-1519.
ii. Albert Dürer and his School—Nuremberg.
(1) Albert Dürer, 1471-1528.
[Influence on Italy.
(2) Albert's immediate pupils.
Hans von Kulmbach, fl. 1486-1545.
George Pens, 1500-50.
Barthol. Beham, c. 1496-c. 1550.
Henry Aldegrever, 1502-62, etc.
(3) Pupils from elder schools.
Matth. Grünewald, Aschaffenburg, fl. 1500.
Hans Schaüffelein, Nordlingen, †c. 1540.
Hans Burgmair, Augsburg, 1474-1559.
Melchior Feselen, Ingolstadt, fl. 1529-38.
Albert Altdorffer, Bavaria, 1488-1558, etc.
iii. Painters of Ulm, etc.
Martin Schaffner, fl. c. 1520.
Hans Baldung, c. 1480-c. 1520.

iv. The Holbeins of Augsburg and Basle.
(1) Hans Holbein, the father, fl. 1499.
(2) Hans Holbein, the son, c. 1495-1554.
Christopher Amberger, c. 1485-1550.
[Influence on Italy, especially Milan.
v. The Cranachs of Bamberg.
(1) Lucas Cranach, the father, 1472-1553.
(2) Lucas Cranach, the son, 1515-86.
[Christian Art dies out in Germany.

PERIOD II.

From the Age of Cosmo de' Medici and the Restoration of Classical Learning, to the Expulsion of the Medici,—otherwise from the Middle to the Close of the Fifteenth Century—and afterwards.

SCULPTURE.

Development of Intellect—Struggle of Imagination and Reason, of the Contemplative and Dramatic, the Christian and Classic or Pagan Elements—Sculpture perfected—Design or Form—Progress of Painting, preparatory for the full Development, successively, of Spirit, Mind and Sense, Expression, Form and Colour, during Period III.

I. Architecture—The Cinquecento, Revived Antique or Italian Style.

Brunellesco and his Succession.

i. Filippo Brunellesco, Florence, 1377-1444.
ii. Succession of Brunellesco.
Michelozzo Michelozzi, Flor., fl. 1430-c. 1468.
Franc. di S. Giorgio, Siena, 1439-c. 1506.
Bened. da Majano, Cronaca, etc.
Leon Battista Alberti, Flor., c. 1400-85.
Donato (Lazzari) Bramante, Urbino, 1444-1514.
Giuliano di S. Gallo, Flor., 1443-1517.
Anton. di S. Gallo, 1482-1546.
Michele Sanmichele, Verona, 1484-1559.
Giac. da Sansovino, c. 1479-1570.
Sebastian Serlio, Bologna, 1475-1552.
Raphael, 1483-1520.
Baldassare Peruzzi, Siena, 1481-1536.

Michael Angelo, 1474-1563.
[Influence preparatory to Fontana, Bernini, Borromini, etc.

Influence on Spain.
Alonzo Berruguete, c. 1480-1561.
Pedro Ibarra, fl. 1521.
Pedro de Valdelvira, fl. 1525-40.
Alonzo de Covarrubias, fl. 1530-50, etc.
Influence on France.
Pierre Lescot, 1510-71.
Philibert Delorme, c. 1500-77, etc.
Influence on Germany and Flanders.
Architect of the Knights' Hall, Heidelberg.
Architect of the Bishop's Palace, Liege, etc.
Influence on England.
Holbein, John of Padua, etc.
John Thorpe, Rob. Adams, etc. The Elizabethan Style.
[Gradual corruption till the commencement of Period IV.

II. Sculpture perfected, in association at first with the Gothic and Jealousy of Cinquecento Architecture.

1. Ghiberti and his Succession—Dramatic—Sympathy with the Giotteschi.

i. Lorenzo Ghiberti, Florence, 1378-1455.
ii. Succession of Ghiberti.
Anton. and Pietro del Pollajuolo, Flor., 1426-98; 1433-98.
[Influence on Michael Angelo.
Bened. and Giuliano da Majano, Flor., 1444-98; fl. 1465.
Agn. Aniello Fiore, Naples, fl. 1447-70.
Giov. di Nola, Dom. d' Arena, etc., Naples.
Andr. (Contucci) da Sansovino, 1460-1529.
Giac. da Sansovino, c. 1479-1570.
Girol. Lombardo, Il Tribolo, Danese Cattaneo, Aless. Vittoria, etc.
[Blends with the succession of Donatello.

2. Donatello and his Succession—Contemplative—Sympathy with the Semi-Byzantine Succession.

i. Donatello (Donato di Betto Bardi), Flor., 1383-1466.
ii. Succession of Donatello.
Nanni d'Antonio di Banco, Florence.
Bertoldo, Flor., keeper of L. de' Medici's garden.

[Instructs Michael Angelo.
Bern. and Anton. Rossellini, Flor., fl. 1451-64; fl. 1468.
Desiderio da Settignano, fl. c. 1455.
Andrea del Verrocchio, Flor., 1432-88.
Giov. Fr. Rustici, 1470-1550.
Baccio Bandinelli, Flor., 1487-1559.
Michael Angelo and his succession.
Bened. da Rovezzano, the Montelupi, etc.

Mino da Fiesole, fl. 1466-86.
Andrea (Ferrucci) da Fiesole, † 1522.

Luca della Robbia, Florence, fl. 1438-80.
Andr. della Robbia, fl. 1525, and others of the family.

Benvenuto Cellini, Florence, 1500-70.

Pupils originally of Giac. della Quercia, Siena.
Anton. di Federigo, fl. 1450.
Lor. (di Pietro) Vecchietta, fl. 1445-82.
Niccolò dell' Arca, fl. Bologna, 1467.
Matteo Civitali, Lucca, 1435-1501.

Andrea Riccio, Padua, 1480-1532.

Influence on Spain.
Juan de Borgoña, or Vigarny, fl. 1495-1533, at Toledo.
Alonzo Berruguete, Leon, c. 1480-1561.
Gaspar Becerra, Seville, 1520-70.
Gaspar de Tordesillas, Leon, fl. 1527.
Domenic Forment, 1480-1540, etc.

Influence on France.
Jean Goujon, fl. 1547-72.
Germain Pilon, fl. 1557-90.
Jean Cousin, fl. 1538-1601.
Giovanni Bologna, Douay, 1524-1608.
Pietro Francavilla (Francheville), 1548-1614, etc.

Influence on England.
Paul Stevens, of Holland, temp. Eliz.
Nicholas Stone, temp. James I.
[Gradual corruption till the commencement of Period IV.

III. Painting—Struggle of Imagination and Reason, of the Christian and Pagan Elements—Tuscany, Umbria, Lombardy, and Naples—Great Improvement in Details, especially Landscape, from the influence of Van Eyck.

I. TUSCANY.

1. Influence of Ghiberti—Dramatic—Preparation for Michael Angelo and for the later style of Raphael.

i. Masolino and Masaccio.
Masolino da Panicale, † c. 1415.
Masaccio da S. Giovanni, 1402-28.

ii. Succession of Masaccio.
Benozzo Gozzoli, 1400-78.
Fra Filippo Lippi, 1400-69.
Cosimo Rosselli, 1416-96.
Piero di Cosimo, 1441-1521.
Sandro (Filipepi) Botticello, 1437-1515.
Filippino Lippi, 1460-1505.
Raffaellino del Garbo, 1476-1534.
Dom. (Corradi) del Ghirlandajo, 1450-95.
[Michael Angelo.
Franc. Granacci, 1477-1544.
Bastiano Mainardi, fl. c. 1495.
[Influence of Masaccio's frescoes in the Carmine on Leonard da Vinci, Perugino, Raphael, Michael Angelo, etc.
[Influence of the Cartoons of Leonard and Michael Angelo.
Andrea (Vannucchi) del Sarto, 1488-1530.
Marcantonio Franciabigio, 1483-1524.
Dom. Puligo, 1475-1527.
Jac. (Carrucci) da Pontormo, 1493-1558.
[Bronzino.

[The style perfected at Rome by Raphael, but superseded at Florence by the Michelangioleschi.

2. Mingled Influence of Ghiberti and Donatello—Preparation for Michael Angelo.

i. Paolo (di Dono) Uccello, Flor., 1389-1472.

ii. Succession of Uccello.
(1) Florentine branch—leaning towards the school of Van Eyck.
Dello, 1372-c. 1421.
[Influence, possibly, on Spain.

Andr. del Castagno, 1409-77.
Dom. Veneziano, c. 1414-c. 1470.
Pesello Peselli, 1380-1457.
Pesellino (Fr. di Pesello), 1426-1457.
Anton. and Pietro del Pollajuolo, 1426-1498; 1433-98.
[Influence on M. Angelo.
Aless. Baldovinetti, 1425-99.
[Dom. del Ghirlandajo.

(2) Extra-Florentine Branch — Influence of Masaccio in subordination to that of Uccello—Leaning towards the antique—Loftier aim than the Florentine branch.
Pietro della Francesca, Borgo S. Sepolcro, 1398-c. 1484.
[Influence partially on Perugino.
Lazz. Bramante, Urbino, 1444-1514.
Bramantino, etc., Milan.
Don Bartol. della Gatta, † c. 1491.
Fra Carnevale, Urbino, fl. 1474.
Victor Pisanello, Verona, fl. 1436-73?
Luca Signorelli, Cortona, 1439-1521.
[Influence on M. Angelo.

[Both lines centre in Michael Angelo.

3. Influence of Donatello — Contemplative and Christian — Sympathy with Soderini, Savonarola, etc., against the Medici — Preparation for Leonard da Vinci and the early style of Raphael.

i. Andrea del Verrocchio, 1432-88.
ii. Succession of Verrocchio.
[Leonard da Vinci.
[Perugino.
[Raphael.
Lorenzo (Sciarpelloni) di Credi, 1452-c. 1531.
Fra Bartolommeo della Porta, 1468-1517.
Mariotto Albertinelli, c. 1467-c. 1512.
Giuliano Bugiardini, 1481-1556.
[Franciabigio.
[Innocenzio of Imola.
Giov. Ant. Sogliani, fl. 1530.
Suor Plautilla, † 1588.
Ridolfo Ghirlandajo, 1485-1560.
Michele di Ridolfo, fl. 1568.
Andr. del Minga, fl. 1568.
Bern. Poccetti, 1549-1612, etc.

[Superseded at Florence by the Michelangioleschi, etc.

II. UMBRIA.

CHRISTIAN SCHOOL OF PERUGINO — CONTEMPLATIVE — INFLUENCE CHIEFLY OF DONATELLO — PREPARATION FOR THE EARLY STYLE OF RAPHAEL.

Predecessors in Umbria—Influence of Siena.
Bened. Bonfigli, Perugia, 1420-c. 1496.
Nicc. Alunno, Foligno, fl. 1458-92.
Giov. Sanzio, Urbino, father of Raphael, fl. 1482-92.

i. Pietro (Vannucci) Perugino, 1446-1524.
ii. Influence of Perugino.
Boccaccio Boccaccino, Cremona, fl. 1496-1518.
Bernardino Pinturicchio, Perugia, 1454-1513.
[Influence on Francia, Bellini, etc.
iii. Pupils and followers of Perugino.
[Raphael.
Lo Spagna, fl. 1524.
Il Bacchiacca (Fr. Ubertino), Flor., † c. 1557.
L'Ingegno (Andr. d'Assisi), c. 1470-1556.
Jac. Pacchiarotto, Siena, fl. 1535.
Dom. Beccafumi or Mecherino, Siena, 1484-1549.
Girol. Genga, Urbino, 1476-1558.
Dom. and Orazio Alfani, Perugia, 1483-1550; 1510-1583.
Adone Doni, Assisi, fl. c. 1550.
Niccolò Soggi, Florence, 1474-1554.

[Perfected by Raphael—Superseded in Umbria by Baroccio.

III. LOMBARDY.

1. CLASSIC SCHOOL OF SQUARCIONE, OR OF PADUA — SPRINGING APPARENTLY FROM THE PRIMITIVE ROMAN SCHOOL AS MINGLED WITH THE GIOTTESQUE, THROUGH THE IMPULSE OF THE SCULPTURES OF DONATELLO — INFLUENCE OVER ALL LOMBARDY — PREPARATION FOR CORREGGIO.

i. Franc. Squarcione, Padua, 1394-1474.
ii. Succession of Squarcione.
(1) Andrea Mantegna, at Mantua, 1430-1506.
Bern. Parentino, at Padua, fl. 1489-94.
Fr. Monsignori, Verona, 1555-1519.
Giov. Fr. Carotto, Verona, 1470-1546.
Pier-Franc. Sacchi, Pavia, fl. 1512-26.
Carlo del Mantegna, fl. 1515.
[Influence on Genoa.
Fr. and Ludov. (sons of) Mantegna.
[Correggio.
(2) Marco Zoppo, at Bologna, fl. 1471-98.
(3) Melozzo of Forlì, 1446-92.

Marco Palmeggiani, Forli, fl. 1513-37.
(4) Galasso of Ferrara, fl. 1404-50.
Cosimo Tura, Ferrara, 1406-69.
Lor. Costa, Ferrara, fl. 1488-c. 1530.
Ercole Grandi, Ferrara, 1491-1531.
Guido and Amico Aspertini, Bologna, 1460-1500 ; 1474-1552.
(5) Vincenzio Foppa, at Milan, 1407-92.
Vinc. Civerchio, Crema, fl. 1500.
Bern. Butinoni, Trevilio, fl. 1484-c. 1520.
Bern. Zenale, Trevilio, † 1526.
Gio. Donato Montorfano, fl. 1495.
Ambr. Borgognone, fl. 1500.
Anton. Bevilacqua, fl. 1486, etc.
[Gaudenzio Ferrari.

[Superseded at Padua by the Bellini, at Milan by Leonard da Vinci, at Bologna by Francia, at Ferrara by Garofolo, at Mantua by Giulio Romano.

2. School of Murano, or of the Vivarini, at Venice —Mingled influence of Padua and of the schools of Cologne and Van Eyck.

Lorenzo Veneziano, fl. 1371, etc.

Jacobello del Fiore, fl. 1401-36.
Carlo Crivelli, fl. 1482, etc.

Andrea da Murano, fl. 1400.
Anton. da Murano, or Vivarini, fl. 1445.
Bartol. Vivarini, fl. 1436-73.
Fra Anton. da Negroponte, fl. c. 1450.
Domenico Veneziano, fl. 1477.
Giacomo Bellini, 1400-70.
[Giovanni and Gentile Bellini.

Luigi Vivarini, fl. 1490.
[Marco Basaiti.

[Superseded by the Bellini.

3. Christian School of the Bellini, at Venice and in Lombardy—Preparation for Giorgione and Titian.

i. Gentile and Giov. Bellini, 1421-1507 ; 1424-1516.
ii. Succession of the Bellini.
(1) Mingled influence of Guariento, Gent. da Fabriano, Pisanello, etc.
Victor Carpaccio, fl. 1500.

(2) Mingled influence of the Vivarini.
Marco Basaiti, fl. 1520.
G. Bat. Cima da Conegliano, fl. 1517.
Vinc. Catena, 1478-1530.
(3) Pure influence of the Bellini.
[Giorgione.
[Titian.
Franc. Bissolo, fl. 1520.
Girol. di S. Croce, fl. 1520-49.
Mart. da Udine, or Pellegrino di S. Daniele, † c. 1545.
Succession in Friuli.
Giov. (Nanni Ricamatore) da Udine, 1494-1564.

Morto da Feltro, † c. 1505.
Andr. di Cosimo, or Feltrino, fl. 1456-76.
[Giov. da Udine.
(4) Towns of Lombardy, Westwards — Mingled influence of the schools of Padua and L. da Vinci.
[1] Padua.
Jac. Montagnana, fl. 1508.
[2] Trevigi.
[Girolamo da Trevigi.
[3] Verona.
Ant. Liberale, 1451-1536.
Giov. Fr. Carotto, 1470-1546.
Dom. and Fr. Morone, 1430-c. 1500; 1474-1529.
Girol. dai Libri, 1472-1555.
[Giulio Clovio.
[4] Vicenza.
Bart. and Bened. Montagna, fl. 1500.
Il Marescalco (Giov. Bonconsigli), fl. 1497-1514.
[5] Bergamo.
And. Previtali, fl. 1506-28.
[Lorenzo Lotto.
(5) In Romagna.
[1] Ravenna.
Nicc. Rondinello, fl. 1500.
Fr. da Cotignola, etc.
[2] Rimini.
Bened. Coda, fl. 1500.
Bartol. Coda, etc.
[Superseded by Giorgione and Titian, etc.

4. Christian School of Francia, at Bologna.

Franc. (Raibolini) Francia, fl. 1490-1517.

Lor. Costa, fl. 1488-c. 1530.
Giac. Francia, fl. 1525-57.
[Timoteo della Vite, Innocenzio da Imola, Garofolo, etc.—influence of the early style of Raphael.
[The Aspertini, Il Bagnacavallo, etc.—influence of the later style of Raphael.
[Superseded by the Raffaelleschi.

IV. NAPLES.

Lo Zingaro and the Zingareschi—Mingled influence of Tuscany, Umbria, and Flanders.

Lo Zingaro (Ant. Solario), fl. c. 1450.
Piero and Polito Donzelli, †c. 1470.
Buono, Tesauro, etc.
Giov. Ant. d'Amato, c. 1475-c. 1555.
[Superseded by the Raffaelleschi.

PERIOD III.

From the Expulsion of the Medici to the Council of Trent—otherwise from the Close of the Fifteenth to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century—and afterwards.

PAINTING.

Result of the Struggle between Imagination and Reason, the Contemplative and Dramatic, the Christian and the Pagan Principle, in the successive Triumphs of Spirit, Intellect and Sense, of Expression, Design and Colour.

I. Triumph and] Fall of the Christian Element—Spirit, Expression—Sympathy at first with the extinct, or expiring, Gothic Architecture rather than the Cinquecento—Excellence both in Fresco and in Oils.

1. Leonard da Vinci, and his School.

i. Leonard da Vinci, Florence, 1452-1519.
[Influence on the Florentine and Umbrian succession of Donatello—and in colour (especially) on Giorgione, and through him on the Venetian school, the Naturalisti, the schools of France, Flanders, etc.

ii. Succession of Leonard in W. Lombardy.

(1) Mingled influence of the old Paduan-Milanese school.

Gaudenzio Ferrari, 1484-1550.

(*a*) Cerva, Lomazzo, etc. at Milan.

(*b*) Lanino, etc., at Vercelli.

Andr. (Solario) del Gobbo, fl. 1530.

Giov. Anton. Beltraffio, 1467-1516.

[Razzi, surnamed Sodoma.

(2) His own pupils.

Andr. Salaino, fl. 1497-1513.

Cesare da Sesto, † c. 1524.

Marco d'Oggione, † c. 1530.

Fr. Melzi, still living in 1568.

Bernardino Luini, fl. 1500-30.

Aurelio Luini, 1530-93, etc.

[Sink into Mannerism, and are superseded by the Procaccini.

2. RAPHAEL AND HIS SCHOOL.

i. Raphael Sanzio, Urbino, 1483-1520.

ii. School and Succession of Raphael.

(1) Pupils and Imitators—from elder schools.

Timoteo della Vite, Urbino, 1470-1524.

Innocenzio da Imola, fl. 1506-49.

[Prospero Fontana.

Benv. (Tizio) Garofolo, Ferrara, 1481-1559.

Succession at Ferrara.

Dosso Dossi, 1490-1560.

G. Bat. (Benvenuti) Ortolano, † 1525.

Girol. da Carpi, 1501-1556.

Lud. Mazzolini, 1481-1530, etc.

Girol. da Trevigi, fl. 1479-92.

Giov. da Udine, 1494-1564.

Dom. Beccafumi or Mecherino, Siena, 1484-1549.

[Daniel da Volterra.

Il Sodoma (Giov. Ant. Razzi), 1479-1554.

Il Riccio (Bart. Neroni), Siena, fl. 1573.

Arcang. Salimbeni, Siena, fl. 1579.

[Fr. Vanni.

[Influence, through Van Orley, Coxcie, etc., on the Italianising Flemish schools.

(2) His own immediate Pupils.

Giulio (Pippi) Romano, 1492-1546.

Abate Nicc. Primaticcio, Bologna, 1490-c. 1570.

[Influence on France.

Succession at Mantua.

Guisoni, Rinaldo, etc.

Giulio Clovio, 1498-1578.

Il Fattore (Giov. Fr. Penni), Flor., c. 1488-c. 1528.

Leonardo (Grazia) da Pistoja.

Perino (Bonaccorsi) del Vaga, Flor., 1500-47.

Succession at Rome—*v. infra.*

Succession at Genoa.

Ant. Semini, 1485-c. 1547.

Andr. Semini, 1508-78.

Ottavio Semini, † 1604.

Luca Cambiaso, 1527-1585.

[Paggi.

Il Bergamasco (Giov. Bat. Castello), 1500-1570.

[Influence on Spain.

Pedro Campaña, Brussels, 1503-70.

[Influence on Spain.

Andr. (Sabbatini) da Salerno, c. 1480-c. 1545.

Succession at Naples.

Fr. and Fabr. Santafede, fl. c. 1540; 1560-1636.

Giov. Fil. and Giov. Ang. Criscuolo, † 1584; † 1573.

[Fr. Imparato.

Polidoro (Caldara) da Caravaggio, 1495-1543.

Succession at Naples.

Marco (Cardisco) Calabrese, fl. 1508-1542.

G. Bat. Crescione, fl. 1568, etc.

Succession at Messina.

Baldassare Peruzzi, Siena, 1481-1536.
[Daniel da Volterra.
Vinc. di S. Gimignano, fl. 1527.
Pellegrino (Munari) da Modena, fl. 1509-23.
Nicc. dell' Abate, Bologna, 1509-71.
[Influence on France and on the Carracci.
Jacopone (Bertucci) da Faenza, fl. 1532.
Succession in Romagna.
Luca Longhi, Ravenna, 1517-80.
Barbara Longhi, fl. 1581.
Il Bagnacavallo (Bartol. Ramenghi), 1484-1542.
Succession at Bologna, *v. infra.*

(3) Raffaelleschi at Rome — chiefly through Perino del Vaga — Mingling influences of Raphael and Michael Angelo—Idealism.
Girol. Siciolante da Sermoneta, 1504-1572.
Taddeo and Fred. Zucchero, 1529-66; 1543-1609.
Bart. and Vinc. Carducci, Florence, 1560-1610; 1568-1638.
[Influence on Spain.
[Otto Venius, Leyden, etc.
[Passerotti—Baroccio—Passignano.
Il Cav. d'Arpino (Gius. Cesari), 1568-1640, the opponent of M. A. da Caravaggio and the Carracci.
Pietro Bernini, Flor., fl. 1598.
[Giov. Lor. Bernini.

(4) Raffaelleschi at Bologna—purer branch—through Innocenzio and Bagnacavallo.
[Ercole Procaccini, 1520-c. 1600.
Lor. Sabbatini, c. 1540-77.
Oraz. Samacchini, 1532-77.
Prospero Fontana, 1512-97.
Lavinia Fontana, 1552-1614.
[The Carracci.
Bartol. Passerotti, fl. 1578-92.
Denis Calvart, 1555-1619.
[Guido, Domenichino, Albano, etc.
Bartol. Cesi, 1556-1627.

[Sink into Mannerism and are superseded by the Carracci.

II. Triumph and Fall of the Classic or Pagan Element —Intellect, Design—Cordial Sympathy with the Cinquecento Architecture—Especial Excellence in Fresco.

Michael Angelo and his School.

i. Michael Angelo Buonarroti, Florence, 1474-1563.
(1) Influence on masters of elder schools.
[Sebastian del Piombo.
[Mecherino, Siena.
[On Spain—Berruguete, Borgoña, etc.—See Period IV.
(2) Pupils and Imitators—the Michelangioleschi—at Rome.
Dan. (Ricciarelli) da Volterra, 1509-66.
(3) Michelangioleschi at Naples.
Marco (Pino) da Siena, 1520-87.
Giov. Ang. Criscuolo, † c. 1580.
(4) Michelangioleschi at Florence.
Il Rosso, or Maître Roux, 1496-1541.
[Influence on France.
Fr. (Rossi) de' Salviati, 1510-63.
Giorgio Vasari, 1512-74.
Agn. Bronzino, 1511-80.
Santi di Titi, 1538-1603.
[Cigoli.
Bat. Naldini, 1537-90.
[Cos. Gamberucci, fl. 1610.
Aless. Allori, 1535-1607,—adopts the manner of Baroccio, 1606.
(5) Michelangioleschi at Bologna and in Lombardy.
Il Semolei (Bat. Franco), Venice, fl. 1536-61.
Pellegrino di Tibaldo de' Pellegrini, Bologna, 1527-91, the 'Michelagnolo riformato' of the Carracci.
[Influence on the Carracci.
[At Rome mingle with the followers of Raphael and sink into Idealism; at Florence are superseded by the influence of Baroccio, and at Bologna, etc. by the Carracci.

III. Triumph of the Sensual Element—Colour—Antagonistic to Design and Expression—Sympathy with the Cinquecento, but a tendency to disconnect itself from Architecture, except in a purely decorative character—Especial Excellence in Oils.

1. Correggio and his School.

i. Antonio (Allegri) da Correggio, Parma, 1494-1534.
ii. Succession of Correggio.
Il Parmigianino (Fr. Mazzuoli), 1503-40.
Girol. Mazzuoli, fl. 1580.
Michelang. Anselmi, 1491-1554.
Fr. Maria Rondani, 1504-c. 1550.
Camillo Boccaccino, 1511-46.
Il Sojaro (Bern. Gatti), Cremona, † 1575.
Gervasio Gatti, fl. 1578.
[Influence on Baroccio, etc.
[Influence on Lanfranco and the Macchinisti.
[Sink into affectation and mannerism, and are superseded by the schools of the Campi, Procaccini and Carracci.

2. Later Venetian School, of Giorgione and Titian.

i. Giorgione (Giorgio Barbarelli), Castel-franco, 1478-1511.
Fra Sebast. del Piombo, Venice, 1485-1547.
Fra Marco Pensaben, c. 1485-1530.
Il Moro (Fr. Torbido), Verona.
Giov. Cariano, Bergamo, 1480-1519.
[Influence on Pordenone, Titian, etc.
[Influence on Michelangiolo da Caravaggio and on the Naturalisti.
ii. Il Pordenone (Gio. Ant. Licinio), Friuli, 1482-1540.
Pomponio Amalteo, 1504-76.
Succession in Friuli.
iii. Tiziano Vecellio—or Titian—of Cadore, 1477-1576.
iv. Influence of Titian, and of Titian and Giorgione conjointly.
Paris Bordone, Trevigi, 1500-75.
Andr. Schiavone, of Dalmatia, 1522-82.
Lorenzo Lotto, Bergamo, fl. 1513-54.
Jacopo Palma, il Vecchio, Bergamo, c. 1540-c. 1588.
Bonifazio, of Verona, c. 1491-1553.
Il Bassano (Jacopo da Ponte), 1510-92.
Succession at Bassano.
Dom. Campagnola of Padua, G. Bat. Maganza of Vicenza, Il Brusasorci (Dom. Ricci) of Verona, Il Moretto (Aless. Bonvicino), and Girol. Savoldi, of Brescia, etc. etc.

Influence on Naples.
Fr. Imparato, fl. 1565.
Girol. Imparato, † c. 1620.
Influence on Flanders and Spain.
[Lambert Lombard, El Mudo, etc.

v. Il Tintoretto (Jac. Robusti), Verona, 1512-94.
Hans Rottenhamer, Munich, 1564-1606.
[Corenzio, Caracciolo, etc. Naples.

vi. Paolo (Cagliari) Veronese, 1532-88.
Jacopo Ligozzi, Florence, 1543-1627.
Fra Arsenio (Dom. Mascagni), Florence, 1579-1636.
[Influence on Bernini, Cortona, Luca Giordano, Rubens, etc.

vii. Jacopo Palma, Il Giovane, Venice, 1544-1628.
Il Padovanino (Aless. Varotari), Verona, 1590-1650.
L'Aliense (Anton. Vassilacchi), — Pietro Liberi —Carlo Loti, etc. — Giov. Bat. Tiepolo, 1692-1769.

3. Naturalisti and later Neapolitan School—chiefly inspired by Venice—Antagonists to the Idealism of the Raffaelleschi and Michelangioleschi at Rome, and subsequently to the Intellectual reform of the Carracci.

i. Michelangiolo da Caravaggio and his Succession.
(1) M. A. (Amerighi) da Caravaggio, 1569-1609.
(2) Succession of M. A. da Caravaggio.
Bartol. Manfredi, Rome, 1574-1621.
Angiolo Caroselli, Rome, 1573-1651.
Il Caravaggino (Tom. Luini), Rome, 1597-c. 1632.
Il Rustichino (Fr. Rustici), Siena, c. 1596-1625.
Carlo Saracino, Venice, 1585-c. 1625.
[Honthorst, or Gherardo della Notte.
[Rembrandt, etc.
[Lo Spagnoletto.
Influence on the schools of Spain and Naples.
[Valentin and Vouet, France.

ii. Later Neapolitan School.
(1) The Triumvirate, enemies of the Carracci.
Belisario Corenzio, c. 1588-1643.
G. Bat. Caracciolo, 1591-1641.
[Massimo Stanzione.
Lo Spagnoletto (Gius. Ribera), 1589-1656.
[Luca Giordano.
(2) School and influence of Spagnoletto.
Aniello Falcone, 1600-65.

Micco Spadaro (Dom. Gargiuoli), 1612-79.
M. Ang. (Cerquozzi) delle Battaglie, 1602-60.
[Il Borgognone, France.
[Esteban March, etc., Spain.
Salvator Rosa, 1613-73.
Il Cav. Calabrese (Mat. Preti), 1613-99.
[Superseded by Luca Giordano.

[The close of this Third Period marked by Idealism and Mannerism in the Successions of Leonard, Raphael and M. Angelo, and by Sensualism in vigorous development, and respectively refined and coarse, in the Schools of Venice and of Naples.

PERIOD IV.

From the Council of Trent and the first Regeneration of Catholic Christianity, to the French Revolution,—otherwise, from the middle of the Sixteenth to the close of the Eighteenth Century.

ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND PAINTING.

Attempts to regenerate Christian Art through Sense and Intellect, Colour and Form, or Design, stopping short of Spirit—Gallant struggle—Victory of Sense.

I. Attempts at Reform in Architecture and Sculpture by study of the antique, and in Painting by improvement in Colour and Design—in Italy; where, however, the Catholic regeneration finds its chief and loftiest expression in Music—Palestrina, Allegri (of the family of Correggio), etc. etc., to Marcello and Pergolesi.

1. Architecture.

Giac. (Barozzio) da Vignola, 1507-73.
Andrea Palladio, Vicenza, 1518-80, etc.

Juan de Herrera in Spain—Inigo Jones, Sir Christopher Wren, Lord Burlington, etc., in England.
[Superseded, except at Vicenza, by the influence of Bernini, Maderno, etc.

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2. Sculpture—influence (except in Spain) of the Carracci.

Stefano Maderno, Lombardy, 1576-1636.
Aless. Algardi, Bologna, 1593-1654.

Il Fiammingo (Fr. Duquesnoy), Brussels, 1594-1646.

Jacques Sarazin, France, 1590-1660.
Franç. and Michel Anguier, France, 1604-69; 1612-86.

Juan de Juni, Flanders, from Rome to Castile, † 1614.
Gregorio Hernandez, Castile, 1554-1614.
Alonzo Cano, Seville, 1601-76.
[Superseded by the influence of Bernini.

3. Painting.

i. Reform of Colour, or rather, Attempt to spiritualise it, by Baroccio of Urbino, emulous of Correggio—parent of a reform at Florence and Siena, which pre-occupies the ground and maintains it throughout the reign of the Carracci.

(1) Fred. Baroccio, Urbino, 1528-1612.

(2) Succession of Baroccio.

[1] At Rome.

Il Pomerancio (Crist. Roncalli), 1552-1626.
Giov. Baglione, 1573-1642.

[2] At Siena (pupils of M. A. Salimbeni).

Franc. Vanni, 1565-1609.
Ventura Salimbeni, 1557-1613.
Pietro Sorri, 1556-1622.
Prete Genovese, Genoa, etc.
Aless. Casolani, 1552-1606, etc.

[3] At Florence.

The three introducers of the style.

Lud. (Cardi) da Cigoli, 1559-1613.
Gregorio Pagani, 1558-1605.
Il Passignano (Dom. Cresti), 1558-1638.

Succession of Cigoli.

And. Comodi, 1560-1638.
[Pietro da Cortona.
Cristof. Allori, 1577-1621.
Jac. da Empoli, 1554-1642.
Dom. Feti, Rome, 1569-1624.

Succession of Pagani and Passignano.
Matteo Rosselli, 1578-1650.
Giov. (Mannozzi) di S. Giovanni, 1590-1636.
Lorenzo Lippi, 1606-1664.
Il Volterrano (Bald. Franceschini), 1611-89, the link with the Macchinisti.
Carlo Dolce, 1616-86.
[4] At Pisa.
Aurel. Lomi, 1556-1620.
Oraz. Luigi Gentileschi, 1563-1647.
Artemisia Gentileschi, 1590-1642.
[5] At Genoa.
Giov. Bat. Paggi, 1554-1627.
Dom. Fiasella, 1589-1669.
Valerio Castello, 1625-59.
Pellegro and Dom. Piola, 1617-1640; 1628-1703, etc.

[Superseded by Pietro da Cortona.

ii. Reform of Design—the Eclectic Schools—all in Lombardy.
(1) School of the Campi, at Cremona.
Giulio Campi, 1500-72.
Antonio Campi, living 1591.
Bernardino Campi, 1522-84.
Sofonisba Angusciola, 1533-1626.
Il Malosso (G. Bat. Trotti), 1555-1612.
(2) School of the Procaccini, at Milan.
Ercole Procaccini, 1520-c. 1600.
Camillo Procaccini, 1546-1626.
Giulio Ces. Procaccini, 1548-c. 1626.
Il Cerano (G. Bat. Crespi), 1557-1633.
Daniel Crespi, c. 1600-1630.
Il Talpino (Enea Salmeggia), 1556-1626.
Carlo Fr. Nuvolone, 1608-61.
(3) School of the Carracci at Bologna.
[1] The three chiefs of the school.
Ludovico Carracci, 1555-1619.
Franc. Brizio, 1574-1623.
Annib. Massari, 1569-1633.
Lionello Spada, 1576-1622.
Lor. Gariberi, 1580-1654.
Giac. Cavedone, 1577-1660, etc.

Agostino Carracci, 1558-1601.
Annibal Carracci, 1560-1609.
[2] Their five great pupils.
Guido Reni, 1574-1642.
Franc. Gessi, 1588-1649.
Giov. Giac. Sementi, 1580-1638.
Gio. Andr. Sirani, 1610-70.
Elis. Sirani, 1638-65.
Il Pesarese (Simon Cantarini), 1612-48.
Dom. Maria Canuti, 1620-84.
Francesco Albani, 1578-1640.
G. Bat. Speranza, 1610-40.
Pietro Fr. Mola, 1609-65.
G. Bat. Mola, 1616-61, etc.
[Andrea Sacchi.
[Carlo Cignani.
Domenichino (Dom. Zampieri), 1581-1641.
Il Sassoferrato (G. Bat. Salvi), 1605-85.
[Nicholas Poussin.
[Franc. di Maria, Naples.
Il Guercino da Cento (Giov. Fr. Barbieri), 1590-1666.
[Influence on Calabrese and on Carlo Dolce.
Giov. Lanfranco, Parma, 1581-1647,—prototype of the Macchinisti, and link with the Cortoneschi.

Bartol. Schidone, Modena, 1560-1616.
Cos. Gamberucci, Florence, fl. 1610.

[Influence on Sculpture, Algardi, Fiammingo, etc.
[3] Later Carracceschi—Struggle with the Sensual principle.
(*a*) At Naples.
Massimo Stanzione, 1585-1656.
Andr. Vaccaro, 1598-1670.
Giacomo Farelli, 1624-1706.
Francesco di Maria, 1623-90.
[Solimene.
(*b*) At Rome.
Andr. Sacchi, 1600-61.
Fr. and Fil. Lauri, 1610-35; 1623-94.
Carlo Maratta, 1623-1713.
Agost. Masucci, 1691-1758.

Stef. Pozzi, 1708-1768.
Giuseppe Peroni, Parma, 1700-76.
Gavin Hamilton, † 1795.

(*c*) At Bologna.
Lor. Pasinelli, 1629-1700.
Giov. Gius. del Sole, 1654-1719.
Carlo Cignani, 1628-1719.
Lud. Quaini, 1643-1717.
Marcant. Franceschini, 1648-1729.
Lo Spagnuolo (Gius. Mar. Crespi), 1665-1747.

(*d*) At Verona.
Ant. Balestra, 1666-1740.
Conte Pietro Rotari, 1707-62.
G. Bat. Cignaroli, 1706-1770.

[Superseded everywhere by the influence of Bernini and P. da Cortona.

II. Opposition and Ultimate triumph of the Sensual element, in Italy.

1. Architecture.

Prospero Fontana, Bologna, 1512-97.
Carlo Maderno, W. Lombardy, 1556-1636.
Giov. Lor. Bernini, Naples, 1598-1680.
Franc. Borromini, W. Lombardy, 1599-1669, etc.

Josef Churruguete, in Spain—Perrault, Mansard, etc., in France—Sir John Vanburgh, etc., in England.

2. Sculpture.

Giov. Lor. Bernini, 1598-1680.
His succession at Rome, Venice, etc., to Toretti, master of Canova.

Influence on France.
Pierre Paul Puget, 1622-94.
Pierre Legros, 1685-1719.
Edmund Bouchardon, 1698-1762.
J. Bapt. Pigalle, 1714-85.
Étienne Maurice Falconet, 1716-83, etc.

Roubiliac, in England.

3. Painting.

Pietro (Berrettini) da Cortona, 1596-1669—from the Florentine succession of Baroccio—Influence of Bernini, Paolo Veronese, etc.—Opposes and puts down the Intellectual reform of the Carracci, and re-establishes the Sensual ascendency more completely but less grossly than before.

Succession of Pietro da Cortona.

[1] At Rome.
- Ciro Ferri, 1634-89.
  - [Nasini.
- Giov. Fr. Romanello, 1617-62.
- Baciccio (G. Bat. Gaulli), 1639-1709.

[2] At Siena.
- Gius. Nasini, 1664-1736.

[3] At Florence.
- Vinc. Dandini, 1607-75.
- Ant. Dom. Gabbiani, 1652-1722.
- Bened. Luti, 1666-1724.
- J. Bapt. Vanloo (France), 1676-1745.
- G. Bat. Cipriani, c. 1725-85.

[4] At Naples.
- Luca Giordano, 1632-1705.
  - Paolo de Matteis, 1662-1728.
    - [Influence on Spain.
  - Franc. Solimene, 1657-1747.
    - Sebast. Conca, 1676-1764.
      - [Batoni.

III. Revival or Protest in behalf of Intellect and the Ideal, in Italy.

Raphael Mengs, 1726-76.

[Influence on the Spanish and French Schools.

Pompeio Batoni, Rome, 1708-87.
Ant. Cavallucci da Sermoneta, 1752-95.
Angelica Kauffmann, at Rome, 1742-1807.
Claud. Fr. Beaumont, Turin, 1694-1766.
Benvenuti of Florence, Andr. Appiani of Milan, Camuccini of Rome, etc

IV. Schools of the Netherlands, Spain, France and England, as inspired by Italy—The Catholic Regeneration peculiarly expressing itself in the Spanish School.

1. The Later Flemish School—Influence of Venice.

Peter Paul Rubens, 1577-1640.
Antony Vandyke, 1599-1641.

Jordaens, Van Balen, Cornel. Schut, Van Thulden, the Quellins, etc.
Gerard Lairesse, 1640-1711.

2. Holland—Influence of M. A. da Caravaggio.

Gerard Honthorst, the Gherardo della Notte of the Italians, 1592-1660.
Rembrandt van Rhyn, 1606-74, etc.
Adrian vander Werf, 1659-1727.

3. Spanish School—Influence of all the Great Masters, Italian and Flemish, but with a peculiar national and religious feeling, pervading and animating it throughout.

Early painters of Aragon, Castile, Andalusia and Valencia—thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

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i. Influence of Van Eyck and Upper Germany.
Juan Sanchez de Castro, Seville, fl. 1454-84.
Juan Nuñez, Seville, fl. 1480.
Fern. Gallegos, Salamanca, c. 1475-1550.
Luis Morales, Badajoz, 1509-86.

ii. Influence of Florence and Umbria.
Pedro de Aponte, Aragon, fl. 1479.
Ant. del Rincon, Castile, 1446-c. 1500.
Diego Lopez, fl. 1519.
Inigo Comontes, Toledo, fl. 1495.
Pedro Berruguete, Toledo, fl. 1485.
Franc. Neapoli of Madrid, and Pablo Aregio, fl. 1506, at Valencia.
Juan de Borgoña, or Vigarny, fl. 1495-1533, at Toledo.[1]

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[1] Alonzo Sanchez and Luis de Medina worked at Toledo in 1495, and Juan de Villoldo in 1510—all three excellent artists—in competition with Juan de Borgoña. Juan de Villoldo was still alive and working at Toledo in 1548.

Franc. Comontes, Toledo, fl. 1547-64.
Blas del Prado, Toledo, 1547-93.

iii. Influence (chiefly) of Michael Angelo.
Alonzo Berruguete, Leon, c. 1480-1561.
Gaspar Becerra, Seville, 1520-70.
Pedro Marmoleja de Villegas, Seville, 1520-97.

iv. Influence (chiefly) of Raphael.
Luis de Vargas, Seville, 1528-90.
[Juan del Castillo.
Pablo de Cespedes, Cordova, 1538-1608.
Vicente Juan de Joanez, Valencia, 1523-79.

v. Influence of Correggio, Titian, M. A. da Caravaggio, the Naturalisti, and Rubens.

(1) Castile—From Berruguete, Becerra, etc.
Miguel Barroso, 1538-90.
Luis de Velasco, fl. 1564-1606.
El Mudo (Juan Fernandez Navarrete), 1526-79.
Luis Tristan, 1596-1640.
Pedro de las Cuevas, † 1635.
Anton. Pereda, Valladolid, 1599-1669.
[Mingles with the school of Seville.

(2) Valencia—from Vicente J. de Joanez.
Alonzo Sanchez Coello, c. 1500-90.
Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, 1551-1610.
Bartol. Cardenas (Portuguese), 1547-1606.
Franc. de Ribalta, c. 1551-1628.
Juan de Ribalta, 1597-1631.
Lo Spagnoletto (Josè Ribera), 1589-1656.
[Influence on Naples, L. Giordano, etc.
Jacinto Geronimo de Espinosa, 1600-80.
Pedro Orrente, 1560-1644.
Esteban March, etc.
[Mingles with the school of Seville.

(3) Andalusia, or Seville—from L. de Vargas and Marmoleja.
Juan de las Roelas, 1560-1625.
Franc. Pacheco, 1571-1654.
Franc. Herrera, the Elder, 1576-1656.
Franc. Herrera the Younger or El Mozo, 1622-85.
Juan del Castillo, 1584-1640.

Franc. Zurbaran, 1598-1662.
Anton. del Castillo, 1603-67.
Juan del Valdes Leal, 1630-91.
[Palomino.

Diego Velasquez, 1599-1660.
Juan de Pareda, 1606-70.
Juan Carreño de Miranda, 1614-1685.
Matteo Cerezo, Burgos, 1635-85.
Alonzo Cano, 1601-76.
Pedro de Moya, 1610-66.
Bartol. Esteban Murillo, 1613-80.
Pedro Nuñez de Villavicenzio, 1635-1700.
Alonzo Miguel de Tobar, 1678-1729.

Claudio Coello, 1621-93.
[Sebastian Munoz.

vi. Influence of the Revival, through C. Maratta.
Vicente Vittoria, Valencia, 1658-1712.

vii. Influence of L. da Cortona, L. Giordano, etc.
Sebast. Munoz, 1654-90.
Anton. Palomino, Valencia, 1653-1726.
Anton. Viladomat, Saragossa, 1678-1756.

viii. Influence of Mengs, David, etc.
Ramon Bayeu y Subias, Saragossa, 1734-95.
Josè Apariccio, 1775-1815, etc.

4. French School.

i. Influence of Florence and Parma.
Jean Cousin, 1538-1601.
Martin Freminet, 1567-1619.

ii. Influence of Venice, M. A. da Caravaggio, etc.
Simon Vouet, 1582-1641.
[Lesueur, Lebrun, etc.
Pierre Valentin, 1600-32.
Le Bourguignon, 'Il Borgognone' of Italy (Jacques Courtois), 1621-76.
Joseph Parrocel, 1648-1704.

iii. Influence of the Revival.
Nicholas Poussin, 1594-1665.
Philippe de Champagne, 1602-74.
Jean Jouvenet, 1644-1717, etc.
Eustache Lesueur, 1617-55.
Pierre Mignard, 1610-95.
Charles Alfonse Dufresnoy, 1611-65.
Sebastian Bourdon, Nich. Loyr, etc.

iv. Influence of Lanfranco, P. da Cortona, etc.
Charles Lebrun, 1619-90.
Fr. Perrier, Fr. Lemoine, Louis Galloche, Charles Natoire, Charles André Vanloo, etc.

Pierre Subleyras, 1699-1749.

v. Influence of R. Mengs and of the Antique.
Jos. Marie Vien, 1716-1809.
Jacques Louis David, 1750-1825.

5. British School—influence of Venice, Rubens, the Carracci, etc.

Sir James Thornhill, 1676-1734.

William Hogarth, 1698-1764.

Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1723-92.
Benjamin West (of America), 1738-1820.
James Barry, 1741-1806.

William Blake, 1757-1828.

Henry Fuseli, John Opie, Joseph Wright of Derby, Thomas Stothard, etc. etc.

V. Development of 'Genre,' or of Portrait, Landscape, the Grotesque, Common Life, Animal Life, Flower and Fruit-Painting, etc. (the 'disjecta membra' of Oil-Painting torn asunder in the Reformation), in the Netherlands, Italy, Spain, France and England—each several branch having been anticipated in the works of Van Eyck—the chase after the Ideal perpetuating and exhausting itself in each branch successively, descending lower and lower till it becomes extinct in flowers and fruit, pots and pans, like the Greek poetry in the epigrams of the Anthologia.

1. Portrait—Italy, the Netherlands, etc.

i. Italy.
Simon di Memmo, Uccello, Botticello, Dom. del Ghirlandajo, Andr. del Sarto, etc.
Leonard da Vinci, Raphael, etc.
Parmigianino.
Giorgione, Titian, etc.
Morone, Calcar of Treves, etc.

ii. Netherlands and Germany.
(1) Native Schools.
Van Eyck, etc.
Albert Dürer, etc.
Holbein, etc.

Balthasar Denner, Hamburgh, 1685-1747.

(2) Influence of Italy.

Antony More, Utrecht, 1512-68.
Rembrandt, etc.
Rubens, etc.
Vandyke, etc.
Sir Peter Lely, 1617-80; Sir Godfrey Kneller, 1648-1702, etc.
[Influence on England.

iii. Spain.

El Mudo.
Velasquez, etc.

iv. France.

Philip de Champagne, etc.

v. Great Britain.

(1) German influence—Succession of Holbein.

Nich. Hilliard, temp. Eliz.
Isaac Oliver, 1556-1617.
Peter Oliver, 1601-60.

(2) Italian and Flemish influence.

George Jamesone, Scotland, 1586-1644.

Dobson, Walker, Cooper, Fuller, Riley, Richardson, Jervas, Hudson.

Aikman, Ramsay, Scotland.

George Romney, 1734-1802.
Thomas Gainsborough, 1727-88.
Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1723-92.
Northcote, Hoppner, etc.
Sir Thomas Lawrence, 1769-1830, etc.

Sir Henry Raeburn, Scotland, 1756-1823, etc.

2. LANDSCAPE.

i. Flanders and Germany—Ideal Landscape.

(1) School of Antwerp.

Joach. Patenier, fl. 1520.
Henr. van Bles, the Civetta of Italy, 1489-1550.
Hans Mostaert (Harlem), 1499-1555.
Matth. Cock or Koeck, c. 1500-66.
Jerome Cock, c. 1510-70.
Peter Breughel, the Old, 1510-70.
Lucas van Gassel, Henry van Cleef, James Grimmaer, etc.
Fr. and Giles Mostaert (Antwerp, sons of Hans), 1520-57; 1520-79.
Hans Soens—worked at Parma.

Paul Brill, 1556-1624.
[Henr. Corn. Vroom.
[Agostino Tassi.
[Claude.
Denis Calvart, 1555-1619.
[The Carracci.
Lucas van Uden, 1595-1660.
Rubens.
John Breughel, the Younger, or 'de Velours,' 1569-1625, etc.
Succession to John van Breyda 1683-1750, Charles Breydel, 1677-1744, etc.
Ant. Fr. Vandermeulen, 1634-90, etc.

(2) School of Malines—chiefly in distemper.
Mart. van Valkenburg, fl. 1560.
Hans Bol, 1536-83.
James and Roland Savery, 1545-1602; 1576-1655.
David Vinkenbooms, 1578-1629.
Alb. van Everdingen (Holland), 1621-75.
[Influence on Ruysdael.

(3) School of Frankfort on the Main.
Adam Elsheimer, 1574-1632.
[David Teniers, the Elder.
[Influence on Italy.
John Lingelbach, 1625-87.

ii. Holland.

(1) School of Harlem.
Hans Mostaert and his family.
[Mingle with the school of Antwerp.
Esaias Vandervelde, 1590-1630.
John Van Goyen, 1596-1656.
Herman Sachtleven, 1609-85.
John Asselyn, 1610-60.
Fred. Moucheron, 1633-86.
Nich. Berghem, 1624-83.
Jacob Ruysdael, 1640-81.
Minderhout Hobbema, fl. 1662.
Karel du Jardin, 1640-78, etc.

John Wynants, 1600-70.
Adam Pynaker, 1621-73.
Adrian Vandervelde, 1639-72.
Philip Wouvermans, 1620-61, etc.

(2) Other Dutch Schools.
Albert Cuyp, Dort, 1606-67.
Paul Potter, Amsterdam, 1625-54.

(3) Marine-Scenery—begun at Harlem, perfected at Leyden and Amsterdam—the most ideal branch of Dutch Nature-painting.

Henr. Cornel. Vroom, the 'Enrico di Spagna' of Italy, 1566-1619.
Simon de Vlieger, 1612-70.
William Vandervelde, the Younger, 1633-1707.
Ludolph Backhuysen, 1631-1707.

iii. Perfection of Ideal Landscape—Italy, France, Great Britain, etc.

Agostino Tassi, Perugia, 1566-1642.
Claude Gelée, or de Lorraine, 1600-82.
John Both, Utrecht, 1610-50.
Herman Swanevelt, Holland, 1620-1725.
The Carracci.
Nicholas Poussin, 1594-1665.
Gaspar (Dughet) Poussin, 1600-75.
Domenichino, etc.
Velasquez, 1599-1660.
Salvator Rosa, 1613-73.
Pier Tempesta (P. Molyn), Harlem, 1637-1701.
Orizzonte (John Fr. van Bloemen), Antw. 1656-1740.
Joseph Vernet, 1712-89.
Richard Wilson, 1714-82.

iv. Architecture.

(1) Holland.

Jean de Vries, 1527-88, and his descendants.
Henry Steenwick, 1550-1603.
Peter Neefs, 1570-1651.
Eman. De Witt, 1607-92.
Job Berkheyden, 1637-93.
John Vanderheyden, 1637-1712.

(2) Italy—influence (chiefly) of Gentile Bellini, Carpaccio, etc.

Aristotile (Bastiano da S. Gallo), 1481-1551.

Ottavio Viviani, Brescia, 1599-1674.
Giov. Ghisolfi, Milan, 1623-83.
Andr. Locatelli, Rome, 1660-1741.
Giov. Paolo Panini, Piacenza, 1691-1758.
Luca Carlevarijs, Udine, 1665-1729.
Canaletto (Ant. Bellotti), Venice, 1697-1768.
Fr. Guardi, Venice, 1712-1793.

3. Fantasticherie—Burlesques, Witch-pieces, etc.—in continuation of the grotesque Sculpture of Gothic Architecture—Almost confined to Flanders and to Roman Catholicism.

Jerome Bosch, Bois-le-Duc, 1470-c. 1530.
John Mandyn, Harlem, fl. c. 1500.

Henr. van Bles, or Civetta, 1489-1550.
Lancelot Blondeel, Bruges, 1500-59.
Peter Breughel, the Elder, 1510-70.
Martin de Vos, 1531-1604.
Peter Breughel, 'd'Enfer,' 1569-1625.
The Tenierses, father and son.
David Ryckaert, Antwerp, 1615-77.
Rembrandt, S. Rosa, the Heemskerks, etc.

4. COMMON LIFE.

i. Germany.
Hans Sebald Beham, Nuremb. 1500-50.

ii. Flanders—More Imaginative than the Dutch—Scenes of Low Life, chiefly out of doors, in which you mingle as a mere spectator.
Peter Breughel, the Elder, 1510-70.
Joach. Beucklaer, 1530-1610.
David Teniers, the Elder, 1582-1649.
David Teniers, the Younger, 1610-94.
Rubens.

iii. Holland—Influence chiefly of M. A. da Caravaggio
(1) Bambocciate—in-doors debauchery of low life.
Adrian Brauwer, 1608-40.
Adrian van Ostade, 1610-85.
Cornel. Bega, 1620-64.
Peter de Laar, the Bamboccio of Italy, 1613-75.
M. Angelo (Cerquozzi) delle Bambocciate (*alias* delle Battaglie), Italy, 1602-60, etc.
Jan Steen, 1639-89, etc.
(2) School of Leyden, anticipated by Schoreel—in-doors life, but more graceful and refined.
Rembrandt, 1606-74.
Gerard Dow, 1613-74.
Gerard Terburgh, 1608-81.
Arnold vander Neer, 1619-83.
Eglon vander Neer, 1643-1703.
Francis Mieris, 1635-81.
William Mieris, 1662-1747.
Godfrey Schalken, 1643-1706.
Gabriel Metzu, 1615-58.
John Peter Slingelandt, 1640-91.
Gasper Netscher, 1636-84.
Adrian vander Werf, 1659-1727, etc.

iv. Spain.
Juan Labrador, † 1660.
Fr. Goya y Lucientes, 1746-1832.

v. France.
Jacques Callot, 1593-1635.
Antoine Watteau, 1684-1721.
Jean Bapt. Greuze, 1726-1805.

vi. Great Britain—Common Life in its deeper meaning —the highest development of this branch of art.
William Hogarth, 1697-1764.
Sir David Wilkie, 1785-1841.

5. Animals, the Chase, etc.

i. Flanders and Holland.
John Strada or Stradarius, Bruges, 1536-1604.
Franc. Sneyders, 1579-1637.
John Fyt, the Van Aelsts, the Weeninxes, the Hondekoeters, etc.

ii. Italy.
Bassano and his family.
Antonio Tempesta, 1555-1630.
Giov. Bened. Castiglione, Genoa, 1616-70.
Rosa da Tivoli (Philip Roos), 1655-1707.

6. Flowers and Fruit.

i. Flanders and Holland.
Jean Louis Bosch, c. 1450-1507, and other early painters of Bois-le-Duc.
John Breughel, 'de Velours,' 1569-1625.
Daniel Seghers, 1590-1661.
David de Heem, 1600-76.
Otto Marcellis, 1613-73.
Abraham Mignon, 1625-79.
Rachel Ruysch, 1665-1750.
John van Huysum, 1682-1749.

John van Kessel, Simon Verelst, Bapt. Monnoyer, etc.

ii. Italy.
M. Ang. (Pace) del Campidoglio, Rome, c. 1610-70.
Il Gobbo de Carracci (P. Paolo Bonzi), 1570-1630, etc.

iii. Spain.
Blas del Prado, Toledo, 1547-93.
Fray Juan Sanchez Cotan, Toledo, 1561-1627.
Juan Labrador, † 1660.
Juan de Arellano, 1614-76.

7. Still Life.

Holland.
Peter Aertsen, the 'Pietro Lungo' of Italy, Amst. 1519-66.
[Influence on M. A. da Caravaggio.
Joachim Beucklaer, 1530-1610, etc.
Cornel. Brize, etc. etc.

PERIOD V.

From the French Revolution and the Second Regeneration of Catholic Christianity—otherwise, from the commencement of the Nineteenth Century—to a period as yet undetermined.

ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND PAINTING.

I. Preparation and Precursors.

Discovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii—Works of Passeri, Gori, Sir William Hamilton, Mr. Hope, Cicognara, and Seroux d'Agincourt—of the Dilettante Society—Stuart's Athens, etc. etc.

Horace Walpole's resuscitation of Gothic Architecture—the works of Carter, Milner, etc. etc.

Flaxman, Canova, Thorwaldsen, the Princess Marie, etc.

II. Revival in Germany.

III. Revival in Italy.

IV. Revival in France.

V. Revival in Great Britain—the pledge, it may be hoped, of a distinctly new style of Architecture, expressive of the Epoch in human progression of which Great Britain is the representative, as well as of a Sculpture and Painting founded, not on servile imitation, but on sound principles and the inspiration of genius.

SKETCHES OF THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN ART.

INTRODUCTORY.

ROMAN AND BYZANTINE ART.

PERIOD OF PREPARATION.

PAGE

I. ROMAN ART 203

II. BYZANTINE ART 239

LETTER I.

ROMAN ART.

HAVING thus taken, as it were, a Pisgah glance at Palestine—having familiarized ourselves with the grand outlines and the leading features of the 'terra incognita' below us, and acquired some familiarity with the language and the habits of thought of the community that people it—let us descend and investigate the subject in detail, and form that intimate acquaintance with the schools and masters of the past, apart from which we can entertain no rational hope of greatness for the future. We must begin *ab initio*, and I propose, accordingly, to consider, in this and the following letter, the early efforts of Rome and Byzantium, during the first ten or twelve centuries of the Christian era, forming a 'Period of Preparation,' during which the life-giving Teutonic element was as yet, intellectually, in its nonage. We will commence with the Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting of Rome and the Latin Church, during the early ages of Christianity,—and let me entreat you at the outset, once for all, to give me credit for an earnest abhorrence of the spirit of dogmatism, although I fear that strong and intimate conviction may sometimes induce me to speak with unbecoming assurance. I will at least study that my words be few—as few as the subject will admit of.

SECTION I.—ARCHITECTURE OF THE CATACOMBS.

It is true, in a certain sense, that Christian Art dates from Constantine; nevertheless it would be more correct to say that it then first emerged above ground,—its earliest efforts must be sought for in the Catacombs.

Rome, as you are aware, is undermined in every direction by subterraneous excavations, forming a maze of unknown

extent, and labyrinthine intricacy, formed during the early ages in the process of quarrying tufo, and hallowed to the imagination of the Christian world by their having become the refuge and abode of the primitive Church during the ages of persecution. To our Classic associations, indeed, Rome was still, under Trajan and the Antonines, the city of the Cæsars, the metropolis of Pagan idolatry—in the pages of her poets and historians we still linger among the triumphs of the Capitol, the shows of the Coliseum—or if we read of a Christian being dragged before the tribunal, or exposed to the beasts, we think of him as one of a scattered community, few in number, spiritless in action, and politically insignificant. But all this while there was living beneath the visible an invisible Rome—a population unheeded, unreckoned—thought of vaguely, vaguely spoken of, and with the familiarity and indifference that men feel who live on a volcano—yet a population strong-hearted, of quick impulses, nerved alike to suffer or to die, and in numbers, resolution, and physical force sufficient to have hurled their oppressors from the throne of the world, had they not deemed it their duty to kiss the rod, to love their enemies, to bless those that cursed them, and to submit, for their Redeemer's sake, to the "powers that be." Here, in these "dens and caves of the earth," they lived; here they died—a "spectacle" in their lifetime "to men and angels," and in their death a "triumph" to mankind—a triumph of which the echoes still float around the walls of Rome and over the desolate Campagna, while those that once thrilled the Capitol are silenced, and the walls that returned them have long since crumbled into dust.[1]

In these recesses, these Catacombs, we must seek for the first efforts of Christian art, the earliest, I should say, which

[1] "Siste, Viator.
Tot ibi trophæa, quot ossa,
Quot martyres, tot triumphi!
Antra quæ subis, multa quæ cernis marmora,
Vel dum silent,
Palam Romæ gloriam loquuntur.
Audi quid Echo resonet Subterraneæ Romæ!
Obscura licet Urbis Cœmeteria,
Totius patens Orbis Theatrum!
Supplex Loci Sanctitatem venerare;
Et posthac sub luto aurum,
Cœlum sub cœno,
Sub Româ Romam quærito!"
Inscription, abridged, Roma Subterranea, 1651, tom. i. p. 625.

have come down to us, since whatever may have existed of such early date in the elder East has long since perished. But in vindicating this antiquity you must not misunderstand me as asserting their intrinsic merit, or that ancestral relation to the glorious works of the middle ages which is the distinction of Greece rather than Rome, as I shall hereafter show. Art in the Catacombs was of feeble growth from the first, and although it survived its translation to upper earth, it never attained a richer development than is exhibited by those plants that we find growing in subterraneous caverns, secluded from the sun, colourless and uncouth—and which, when removed to the ungenial light of heaven, either immediately wither or gradually decay. The latter alternative, as you will presently find, attended the Sculpture and Painting of these dreary regions; the former more peculiarly expresses the fate of their Architecture, after the conversion of Constantine.

This Architecture is, in the strictest sense, Sepulchral: tombs were the first altars, and mausoleums the first churches of Christendom. The mortal remains of the vulgar herd were deposited in niches scooped out of the walls of the long winding passages, the streets or thoroughfares of the subterranean city, and secured by flat slabs of marble, between the chinks of which the white skeletons may frequently to this day be seen glittering in undisturbed repose. But to the confessors and martyrs, the heroes and heroines of the faith—to bishops, and in general, to those of higher mark and renown, more distinguished resting-places were allotted. A space broader and more regular than the usual passages, and ending in a blank wall, was in such cases selected or excavated; recesses, surmounted by semicircular *conchæ*, or shells, were hollowed out at the extremity and in the two sides of the square; within these recesses were placed sarcophagi, their sides covered with the symbols and devices of Christianity; the roof was scooped into the resemblance of a dome or cupola,—this was usually painted, as well as the shells of the recesses, and the whole, thus completed, formed a chamber bearing some faint resemblance to the Greek cross, and well suited, by its comparative space, for the congregation of the faithful and the services of religion, the sarcophagus at the upper end of the cell serving as a communion-table, or altar. These primitive churches abound in the Catacombs, and may still be seen in that of S. Sebastian,—of course they are very rudely executed.

Where their plan and distribution originated, it would be perhaps idle to enquire; but it is at least a singular coincidence that the central chamber of the Pagan catacombs of Alexandria, and its lateral recesses, present the exact model of those of Rome, only on a far more splendid scale.

After the conversion of Constantine and the consequent enfranchisement of Christianity, the Catacombs ceased to be frequented as a place of refuge, but past associations had invested them with the deepest interest, and for centuries afterwards they were held in veneration, and constantly visited both by individual worshippers and by the clergy, who performed regular services at the tombs of the martyrs. But in the course of the thirteenth century they fell into oblivion, and remained almost totally forgotten till the great Catholic revival in the sixteenth, posterior to the Council of Trent, when the policy of Sixtus V., and the enthusiasm of the learned Bosio, brought them once more to notice. Assisted by a faithful friend, Bosio spent thirty-five years in exploring them—making accurate plans, copying sculptures and paintings with unwearied assiduity—and his labours resulted in the massive folios of the 'Roma Subterranea,' now of inestimable value, since the Catacombs being for the most part closed up and inaccessible—the tombs removed and the frescoes destroyed[1]—they form the sole record of much that then existed in its freshness, now obliterated.[2]

Of these paintings and sculptures I shall speak more at length hereafter, since, bad as they may be, they were the models of Latin art for many centuries. But the Architecture, or rather architectural forms, to which they were allied, and which were far more susceptible of expansion and improvement, were, except in the case of one insignificant class of buildings, the funeral chapels, neglected and abandoned by Rome, and heathen models imitated in preference. Little else indeed was to be expected, for the art which had been transplanted to

[1] I use the word, in its common acceptation, for all wall-paintings, executed in fresh or water-colours, as opposed to oils. But the reader will remember that fresco, in its strict technical acceptation, as practised by Raphael and Michael Angelo, is of much later date.

[2] With the 'Roma Subterranea' (which has been republished more than once, much augmented and improved, by Aringhi and Bottari), may be associated the work of Boldetti, entitled 'Osservazioni sopra i Cimiterj de' Santi Martiri ed antichi Cristiani di Roma,' *Rome*, fol. 1720, and the very interesting little essay on the Catacombs by M. Raoul-Rochette, of the French Institute.

Italy in its decline, and long after its original lofty inspiration had evaporated, had for three centuries been more and more degenerating,[1] and the descendants of those who built the Pantheon in Augustus's time, were unable or afraid, save on the most trifling scale, to imitate its stately dome in Constantine's. To this we may, partly at least, attribute the adoption of the basilica form for church architecture, in lieu of that suggested by the cells of the Catacombs, in which the dome constitutes so marked a feature; the adoption, I admit, is not servile, the adaptation is most ingenious, and the result is such that it is impossible to wish that matters had taken a different course,—still it must be confessed that Rome left the grander flight, the glory of creating a new and peculiarly original Christian architecture, to Byzantium.

Section 2.—Christian Architecture of Rome.

Constantine, perhaps, little thought that, in proclaiming himself a Christian, he announced a new era, a new world for Art, as for every other department of intellectual enterprise. Such was indeed the fact. The first consequence of the step was a demand for architectural structures adapted to the rites of the new Establishment. Two new styles immediately arose [2] at Rome and at Constantinople—each of them destined to a long and uncontested supremacy respectively in the East and West, and ultimately, in their combination, to become the parents of a still more illustrious progeny, the architecture of Lombardy and that of the North, commonly called Pointed, or Gothic. Of these the former style, or that of Rome, at present invites our attention.

The buildings required for the religious ceremonies of the Church in the fourth century were of three descriptions,—Baptisteries, for the performance of the initiatory rite of Christianity—Churches, for the united worship of the initiated and the celebration of the mystery of the Lord's Supper—and Sepulchral Chapels, for the commemorative prayers offered up for the welfare of the departed, who "sleep in Christ." For the first of these the public baths, for the second the basil-

[1] A momentary revival was effected by Trajan, but the decadence recommenced under Hadrian and his successors, and in the words of Niebuhr, "Ancient art had ceased before Christianity was introduced." —*Lectures*, vol. ii. p. 259.

[2] Churches had indeed been built long before the age of Constantine, but there is a deficiency of clear evidence as to their form and design.

icas, or courts of justice, for the third, as I have already intimated, the subterraneous cells of the Catacombs, presented ready models. We will consider the Churches first, as the most numerous and most important class of buildings thus originated.[1]

It may be thought, perhaps, that the heathen temples might have been converted to Christian purposes, thus obviating the necessity of new structures; but it should be remembered that in Constantine's time the interior of Rome was still in occupation of the heathen, and that a worship at which the whole community is required to be present, demands much ampler internal space than the narrow, dark, cavernous cells of those temples afforded.[2] The basilicas, on the contrary, presented, as models, every thing that could be desired. Of Oriental origin—assembly-halls, in the first instance, in the palaces of kings (and of which the earliest examples may perhaps be found among the ruins of Thebes[3])—they had been introduced into Rome during the decline of the republic, and had multiplied to no less than eighteen in the time of Pliny—serving as Exchanges as well as Courts of Justice.[4] Their plan was very simple,—an oblong area, divided by pillars into what would be called, in ecclesiastical architecture, a nave and two aisles, the nave sometimes open to the sky, sometimes roofed over, the aisles always so protected—the whole bounded by a transverse aisle or transept, raised by several steps, and terminating at the extremity opposite the door of the building in a semicircular niche or tribune, in front of which stood an altar, while beneath this transept, at least in the basilica at Pompeii,[5] was sunk a dungeon. In this dungeon lay the prisoner; in the tribune, in his curule chair, sat the

[1] On the subject of the early Christian architecture of Rome, see the 'Vetera Monimenta' of Ciampini, *Romae*, 3 tom. fol., 1749.

[2] Very few temples were converted into churches in Italy; the Pantheon (if a temple and not a bath) was the first consecrated, by Pope Boniface IV., A.D. 610. S. Urbano alla Caffarella, in the suburbs of Rome, is another early instance. But this adaptation constantly took place in the East, in which case the court, introductory to the *cella*, was sometimes filled with columns and roofed over so as to form a nave and aisles; the pillars are still standing in that of Medinet Abou at Thebes, and traces of a similar adaptation were visible at the beginning of last century in the Temple of the Sun at Baalbec.

[3] At Gournou, for example.

[4] On this subject see Chev. Bünsen's work on the Basilicas of Christian Rome, published at Munich,—as also a very able and interesting article on early ecclesiastical architecture in the 'Quarterly Review,' March, 1845.

[5] A small but perfect specimen. It is described by Sir William Gell, in his

judge, with his councillors to the right and left, to acquit or condemn him, after swearing at the altar immediately in front, to award a righteous judgment; the advocates and other parties interested occupied the transverse space in front of the tribunal; the spectators stood in two divisions below, the men to the right, the women to the left,—though sometimes the lower part was left entirely to the male sex, and the women were lodged in galleries contrived under the roofs above the lateral aisles of the building. Nothing, it is obvious, could be easier than to accommodate an edifice like this to the demands of Christian worship,[1] and we accordingly find the plan preserved in all the earliest Latin churches, or as they are usually termed, Basilicas, with little alteration, and the addition merely of such accessary parts as the rites to which it was newly adapted, required. Few, indeed, of these primitive churches remain unchanged, or can be cited as complete models of the style; nevertheless the ideal of the Christian basilica may be sketched nearly as follows—in its broad outline, I mean, omitting mere details and minutiæ:—

1. The Atrium, or Court of entrance, usually surrounded by a columned portico, as in the heathen temples, and in imitation probably of the Court of the Gentiles in the temple of Jerusalem. This was an addition to the heathen basilica.

2. The Portico in front of the building, called the Narthex, or Scourge—reserved for the catechumens and penitents, the former being confined to its precincts till baptism, the latter till ecclesiastical absolution.[2]

3. (Entering the church.) The central area or Nave, so named from the supposed resemblance to a ship, in Greek, Naos, the emblem of the Church—parted from its side aisles by rows of columns, in the smaller churches single, in the larger double, the rows next the nave almost invariably

'Pompeiana,' *First Series*, p. 210.—A deep and peculiar interest attaches to the basilica and its distribution, as the judgment-hall of Pilate was probably a building of this description.

[1] Two basilicas, the Laterana and Vaticana, are said to have been actually converted into churches by Constantine.

[2] According to Milner, Hope, and other older authorities. Mr. Knight, however, says that "the middle of the vane" (between the cancellum and entrance) "was allotted to the catechumens or neophytes, those who were in a state of preparation, but had not yet been admitted to the rite of baptism, and who were only permitted to assist at the first half of the service;" while "behind the neophytes, in the part of the nave nearest to the door, were stationed the penitents,—such of them at least as were permitted to assist at any part of the service,—for there was a class of penitents, those in

supporting round arches instead of an unbroken architrave, and upon these arches the main walls of the building—these walls pierced with windows, under which very often in the larger basilicas run lines of mosaics—both nave and aisles crowned with wooden roofs, while under those of the aisles Triforia or galleries, as in their pagan prototypes, are sometimes provided for the women.

4. The Cancellum, Chancel or Choir—the upper part of the nave, raised two or three steps, railed off, or separated by a low wall, and appropriated to the singers and inferior clergy; within it, sometimes on the same, more frequently on opposite sides, stood the Ambones, or desks, that on the left hand appropriated to the reading of the Gospel, that on the right to that of the Epistle,—the Paschal candlestick, emblematical of revealed religion, being fixed adjacent to the former. The congregation stood on either side this Cancellum, the men to the right, the women to the left, as in the heathen basilica.

5. The Triumphal Arch, introducing from the central nave into the sanctuary, and thus figurative of the transition, through death, from the Church Militant on earth, to the Church Triumphant in heaven, respectively symbolised by the nave and the sanctuary; subjects allusive to this triumph—the Saviour in glory, or the Vision of the New Jerusalem in the Apocalypse—were usually represented upon it in mosaic.

6. The Transept, Presbytery or Sanctuary, elevated by steps, in the centre of which stood the Altar, originally uncovered, but afterwards surmounted by a Ciborium, or tabernacle, supported by small pillars—the whole an imitation of the tombs of the martyrs and their rock-hewn canopies in the Catacombs.[1]

7. The Tribune, or Absis, within which, overlooking the whole church, arose the Throne of the Bishop, flanked, to the right and left, by the seats of his attendant clergy. The side aisles were terminated by similar absides, of smaller proportions.

a state of the greatest reprobation, who were constrained to stand the whole time outside the door.—"*Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy*, Series I. This certainly is countenanced by a passage in the 'Apostolical Constitutions,' which I shall allude to presently. The fact seems to be, that customs varied on this point at different times. The admission of catechumens within the walls of the church was certainly a violation of the rigidly exclusive symbolical principle of the early ages.

[1] The early memorial altar-tombs may be seen represented in the mosaics of S. Giovanni in Fonte, at Ravenna. A tomb in the church of S. Lorenzo, outside the walls of Rome, immediately to the right hand on entering, preserves the primitive form.

And, lastly, the Crypt, immediately beneath the sanctuary —generally half sunk below the level of the earth, an open screen or grating admitting a sight of its interior from the nave, and of the Confession, the tomb or shrine containing the relics of the Saint or Martyr in honour of whom the church was dedicated, directly below the upper altar. These crypts are lofty and spacious in the later basilicas, especially those built after the Lombards had taken the lead as architects, but in the earlier they are usually low, narrow, and confined. The theory, I should observe, of a primitive church presumed it to be built over a catacomb; S. Agnes, S. Lorenzo, S. Martino, S. Prassede, and a few others, all at Rome, actually are so; but as this could rarely be the case elsewhere, artificial catacombs or crypts were thus dug to represent them. They had acquired at an early period a figurative character, as symbolical of the moral death from which we have been redeemed by Our Saviour.

Such, in brief outline, was the usual internal distribution of the Basilica. Side-altars and chapels were in process of time added, as Saints multiplied, to the great detriment of its unity and simplicity. But few of the more interesting basilicas have been thus disfigured.[1] A more advantageous change was the removal of the choir, or chancel, from the nave to the presbytery or sanctuary, nearer the altar.

The materials are usually of a strangely mingled character; the pillars, taken frequently at random from more ancient structures, are of every order, size, and excellence, the most exquisite in workmanship alternating with the rudest; the ceilings are of the plainest description, mere wooden rafters. On the other hand, the pavement is almost invariably of rich marbles, inlaid in 'Opus Græcanicum,' or 'Alexandrinum,' a very beautiful species of mosaic-work; the cancellum, the reading-desks, the ciborium are inlaid with mosaic of minuter

[1] Four Cubicula, or chapels, were attached to the basilica built by S. Paulinus, at Nola, towards the close of the fourth century. His account of it, in an epistle to Severus, informs us likewise of their use and purpose:— "Cubicula intra porticus quaterna longis basilicae lateribus inserta, secretis orantium vel in lege Domini meditantium, praeterea memoriis religiosorum ac familiarium accommodatos ad pacis aeternae requiem locos praebent." *Opera*, col. 203, ed. Muratori.—And see the note upon the passage, col. 912. Paulinus's description of his basilica, which is extremely curious, may be seen abridged in Mr. Faber's interesting Life of Vigilantius, p. 177. It was long, however, before chapels became constituent parts (as it were) of the basilica.

and still more brilliant materials; while the triumphal arch, the shell of the absis, and sometimes the side walls of the nave, are incrusted with mosaics of the third and most precious description, the work of Greek artists, representing scenes from the Bible, or those peculiar symbolical conceptions in which they so much delighted. In a word, these basilicas possess the charm of contrast in the fullest degree—a mingled richness and simplicity which lend them a grace to which the more imposing edifices of Byzantium, and even the glorious creations of Lombardy and the North, can make no pretensions.

Their symbolism too, though well recognised and defined, is of a more practical, a less enthusiastic character. The Ship of S. Peter, the Ark of Noah, labouring in the ocean, but affording a refuge for the Church during her warfare, and a type, though a subordinate one, of heaven as the port of her repose,[1] such seems to be their idea, as distinguished from those edifices of the more contemplative Byzantines which symbolise in their soaring and dominant cupola the Church Triumphant, the rest of heaven. It is perhaps for this reason that, while the latter invariably point East and West, the former, even till a late epoch, were directed indifferently to every point of the compass.[2]

[1] The allegory of the ship is peculiarly dwelt upon by the ancient Fathers. A ship entering the port was a favourite heathen emblem of the close of life,—it may be seen on a tomb near the Neapolitan Gate of Pompeii, commemorated in some beautiful lines by Lady Flora Hastings, *Poems*, p. 52. But the Christian idea, and its elevation from individual to universal or Catholic humanity, is derived directly from the Bible,—see, for instance, 1 *Peter*, ii. 20, 21. "Without doubt," says S. Augustine, "the Ark is the figure of the City of God pilgrimising in this world, in other words, of the Church, which is saved by the wood, on which hung the Mediator between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus." The same interpretation was recognised in the Latin Church in the days of Tertullian and S. Cyprian, etc. The bark of S. Peter is similarly represented on a Greek gem found in the Catacombs, as sailing on a fish, probably Leviathan or Satan, while doves, emblematical of the faithful, perch on the mast and stern,—two apostles row, a third lifts up his hands in prayer, and Our Saviour, approaching the vessel, supports Peter by the hand when about to sink.—*Roma Subterranea*, 1651, tom. ii, p. 475. It was probably one of the signet rings alluded to by Clement of Alexandria, as bearing the *ναῦς οὐρανοδρομοῦσα*, the ship in full sail for heaven. *Pædagogus*, lib. 3; *Opera*, p. 289, edit. Potter.[1] —But the allegory of the ship is carried out to its fullest extent in the fifty-seventh chapter of the second book of the 'Apostolical Constitutions,' supposed to have been compiled, in the name of the Apostles, in the fourth century. See the following note.

[2] S. Peter's, S. John Lateran, and S. Clemente face the East, and the basilica of S. Paul and the church of

[1] Sometimes the mast was represented as a cross, in allusion to Our Saviour.

The steeples, which add so much to the external beauty of these basilicas, as grouped with, not attached to them, were

S. Lorenzo were originally entered from that quarter. At the same time the theory of worshipping towards one point, and that point the East, was very general, even in the Latin Church, and ultimately became law. For the mystical reasons, see Durandus, Bishop of Mende, on 'The Symbolism of Churches and Church-ornaments,'[1] translated by Messrs. Neale and Webb, p. 214, and Pugin's 'Ecclesiastical Antiquities,' p. 14. In estimating the causes of this difference of usage (originally) between the two Churches, we should recollect that Byzantium was a Dorian city, that Roman civilization was of Ionian origin, and that the Dorians and Ionians, the types respectively of Conservatism and Progression, entered their temples, the former from the West, the latter from the East—the former bending their eye for ever on the world they had left behind, the latter pressing eagerly forward in search of novelty and change. Distinctions of this character are innate and ineffaceable, perpetuating themselves under a thousand changes of form and circumstance.

The earliest description of a basilica is that of the cathedral built at Tyre by the Bishop Paulinus under Constantine and Licinius, and therefore between the years 313 and 322, as given by Eusebius in his 'Panegyric on the Building of the Churches' (*Eccles. History*, book x., chapter iv.) With this may be compared the directions for the construction and the ceremonial service of churches, contained in the chapter of the 'Apostolical Constitutions' alluded to in the preceding note, and of which, as interesting in many respects, I subjoin a translation :—

"But do thou, the Bishop, be holy, blameless, no striker, not irascible, not harsh, but an edifier of the truth, a converter to righteousness, a giver of instruction, patient in enduring evil, mild in disposition, gentle, long-suffering, apt in exhortation, apt in comforting, like a man of God. And when thou gatherest together the Church of God, regulate the assembly with all discernment, like the pilot of a great ship, commanding the Deacons, as the sailors, to arrange places for their brethren, as the passengers, with all care and decency. And first, let the house (church) be oblong, turned towards the East, having Pastophoria (cells) on both sides, towards the East, as it is to resemble a ship, and let the throne of the Bishop be in the midst, with the presbytery sitting on either side of it, and the deacons standing by, clad in light but seemly raiment, for they are likened to sailors and oarsmen. And, by the provision of the Deacons, let the laity seat themselves at the other end of the church, with all stillness and order, the women separately,—and let them too be seated, keeping silence. And let the Reader, standing on some high place, read aloud the books of Moses, and Joshua the son of Nun, of the Judges and Kings . . . etc. etc. ; and then let some other sing the psalms of David, and let the people join in softly, at the beginnings of the verses. After this, let our Acts be read, and the Epistles of Paul, our fellow-workman, which, through the instruction of the Holy Spirit, he sent to the Churches. And after these things, let the Deacon or Presbyter read the Gospels which I (Matthew) and John delivered to you, and which the fellow-workers of Paul, Lucas and Mark, bequeathed to you by tradition. And while the Gospel is recited, let all the presbyters and deacons, and the whole people stand up with great stillness, for it is written, 'Hearken and be silent, O Israel!' and again, 'Stand thou here and listen.' And next let the Presby-

1 The first book of his 'Rationale Divinorum Officiorum,' a treasure of information on all points connected with the decoration and services of the mediæval Church. Durandus was born in Provence about 1220, and died in 1290 at Rome.

not part of the original plan, but added for the most part by Lombard architects, in or after the eighth century, when the

ters exhort the people, one after the other, but not all, and the Bishop last, as he who resembles the pilot. And let Door-keepers stand at the entrances for the men, keeping watch over them, and Deaconesses at those for the women, after the manner of those who receive the fare on shipboard. For the same analogy and type is followed out in the temple of God as in the tabernacle of the testimony. And if any one shall be found sitting out of his place, let him be chidden by the Deacon, as by the pilot's mate, and led over to the seat befitting to him. For not only is the Church likened to a ship, but also to a fold. For as shepherds arrange in order those irrational creatures, the goats (I say) and the sheep, according to race and age, so that they all consort together, the like with the like,—so too, in the church, let those who are younger sit apart, provided there be room, and if not, let them stand upright, and let those already advanced in age sit in due order. As for children, let them stand beside their fathers and mothers, the younger girls only apart, if there be place, and if not, let them stand behind the women. And let those who are already married and have children stand apart, but let the virgins and widows and old women sit or stand first of all. And let the Deacon provide that each who enters go to his proper place, and that none sit near the entrance. Similarly, let the Deacon keep watch over the people, that no one whisper or fall asleep, or laugh or beckon to another. For it is fitting to stand attentively, circumspectly, and wakefully in the church, having the ears intent to the word of the Lord. And after this, when the catechumens and the penitents have gone out, let all, rising up at once, and looking towards the East, pray to God, who ascended above the heaven of heavens towards the East, and in remembrance of our ancient dwelling-place of Paradise in the East, whence the first man, disregarding the commandment, persuaded by the counsel of the serpent, was cast out. And, after the prayer, let some of the Deacons take heed to the oblation of the Eucharist, ministering (*ὑπηρετούμενοι*, literally, performing the office of a sailor) to the body of the Lord with fear—and let the others watch the crowd, and impose silence on them. And let the Deacon, standing near the Arch-priest (*ἀρχιερεύς*), say to the People, 'Let no one harbour aught against another; let no one (approach hither) in hypocrisy!' And then let the men salute each other, and let the women salute each other with a kiss, in the name of the Lord. But let no one do this deceitfully, even as Judas betrayed the Lord with a kiss. And after this, let the Deacon pray for the whole Church, and for all the world, and its parts and produce, for priests and rulers, for the Arch-priest and the King, and for universal peace. And thereafter let the Arch-priest, after invoking peace on the people, bless them, even as Moses commanded the priests that they should bless the people, with these words, 'The Lord bless thee and keep thee, the Lord make the light of his countenance to shine upon thee, and give thee peace!' The Bishop also shall invoke a blessing on them and say, 'Save thy people, O Lord, and bless thine inheritance, whom thou hast purchased and obtained by thy precious blood, and hast called them a royal priesthood and a holy nation!' And after these things, let the sacrifice be performed (*γινέσθω ἡ θυσία*), all the people standing and praying silently, and after it has been offered up (*ἀνενεχθῇ*), let each class by itself receive the body of the Lord and the precious blood, coming up in order, with reverence and awe, as to the body of the King, and let the women approach with their heads covered, as becomes the class of women. And let the doors be guarded, lest any infidel or uninitiated (unbaptized) person enter."—*Patres Apostolici*, ed. Cotelerii, tom. i. p. 263.

use of bells had been introduced from Greece. Their style is very various; almost every town in Italy possesses its distinct pattern, and all are beautiful.[1]

The Basilica, like each successive style of Church Architecture, seems to have taken its perfect form at once, and to have retained it unchanged for ages, co-extensively with the spiritual dominion of the Romish see; it even maintained its ground long after the Lombard style (formed from it and the Byzantine) had encroached upon its exclusive prerogative. Some of the most beautiful basilicas in Italy are the work of Lombard architects, who, it is remarkable, have in such cases suppressed that passion for exuberant grotesque imagery in which they indulge so freely on ordinary occasions; and similarly in England, the churches built during the heptarchy, and indeed as late as the Norman Conquest, in the style commonly but erroneously styled Saxon, seem all to have been basilicas, or in the style of the basilica—"more Romano," as contemporary chroniclers express it,—the proper Lombard architecture was first introduced by the Normans. Even in the East too, under the very shadow of the Greek cross and cupola, the basilica is often met with. At Bethlehem, the church built by Constantine for his mother Helen over the cave of the nativity, still exists, in venerable neglect, its marble pillars flashing in the torchlight as the traveller passes under them to the interior of the convent; it comes nearer the antique than (I believe) any other existing basilica, in the continuous unbroken entablature surmounting the columns of the nave. The church also of Mount Sinai, built by Justinian, remains unchanged in all respects, except the barbarous whitewash with which the monks have disfigured its granite columns, the palm-leaved capitals of which, it is observable, betray the Egyptian origin or sympathies of the architect.[2] And throughout Syria, especially among the ancient cities East of the Jordan, and everywhere, I believe, throughout Asia Minor, specimens of the basilica may still be seen, where now not a Christian survives to tell the tale of their ancient destiny.

[1] The Round Towers of Ireland, the seat of high comparative civilization in those early ages, are bell-steeples which have survived the churches they were attached to. This has been ably demonstrated by Geo. Petrie, Esq., in his 'Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland.' The square tower of S. Rule at S. Andrews in Fifeshire, and the Pictish towers at Abernethy and Brechin, are similar examples.

[2] Similar capitals may be seen at Sueda in the Hauran, south of Damascus.

Yet, after all, none are so interesting as those of Rome; none have their peculiar charm of hoar antiquity, of repose and seclusion from the busy haunts of men. It is true that they have suffered much from restoration,—of Constantine's original structures not one remains; S. Paolo fuori le mura is no more; S. Peter's, S. John Lateran, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Croce in Gerusalemme, have long been modernised, and have lost their primeval attractions. But S. Agnese (of the beginning of the seventh century), said to preserve the form of the heathen basilica with remarkable accuracy—the churches of S. Prassede and S. Cecilia (of the early part of the ninth), built on the sites of their respective fathers' houses (men of renown in the congregation, under whose roofs the Christians were accustomed to meet for worship during the intervals of persecution),—these still survive. And in that of S. Clemente, a little church between the Coliseum and the Lateran, built on the site of his paternal mansion, and restored at the beginning of the twelfth century, an example is still to be seen, in perfect preservation, of the primitive church; everything remains *in statu quo*—the court, the portico, the cancellum, the ambones, paschal candlestick, crypt and ciborium—virgin and intact; the wooden roof has unfortunately disappeared, and a small chapel, dedicated to S. Catherine, has been added, yet even this is atoned for by the lovely frescoes of Masaccio. I most especially commend this relic of early Christianity to your reverent and affectionate admiration.[1]

Yet the beauty of S. Clemente is internal only; outwardly it is little better than a barn. This is not the case with S. Lorenzo, which is as perfect a picture of a basilica externally, as S. Clemente is internally. Viewing it from a little distance, the whole pile—in its gray reverential dignity—the row of stones indicating the atrium, with an ancient cross in the centre—the portico overshadowing faded frescoes—the shelving roof, the body-wall bulging out and lapping over like an Egyptian temple—the detached Lombard steeple—with the magic of sun and shadow, and the background of the Cam-

[1] Let me refer to plates first and second, with the corresponding description, in Mr. Gally Knight's beautiful and able work on the 'Ecclesiastical Architecture of Italy,'—and in which will be found views of most of the buildings alluded to in the text. Plans of the Roman basilicas are appended to Chev. Bünsen's work already cited, and may be found also in the 'Histoire de l'Art par les Monumens' of Count Seroux d'Agincourt, where plans too are given of almost all the churches I shall have occasion to mention in these 'Sketches of Christian Art.'

pagna, bounded by the blue mountains of Tivoli—together with the stillness, the repose, interrupted only by the chirp of the grasshopper, and the distant intermitted song of the *contadino*—it forms altogether such a scene as painters love to sketch and poets to repeople with the shadows of past ages; and I open a wide heaven for either fraternity to fly their fancy in, when I add that it was there the ill-fated Peter de Courtenay was crowned Emperor of the East.[1]

I have dwelt too long, perhaps too fondly, on these basilicas, and will therefore be very brief in enumerating three or four similar edifices in other parts of Italy, well worth a pilgrimage should you be in their neighbourhood.

Of these, two at Ravenna, dedicated to S. Apollinare, and built, the one by Theodoric, the other by Justinian, are particularly interesting. Both are in their primitive state,—the exterior of the former, distinguished as 'di dentro,' or within the city, is very picturesque—the line of its court marked, as at S. Lorenzo, by a row of stones, with a cross in the centre—the interior is also in good preservation; the appearance of the latter, 'S. Apollinare di fuori,' 'without,' or 'in Classe,' is injured by a large mass of modern workmanship, added in front, but the interior is spacious and beautiful, and was still more so before the poverty of the Chapter[2] occasioned its being despoiled of the rich marbles which originally incased the walls. You will especially admire the broad and airy aisles, and their freedom from chapels or interruption of any sort, except the characteristic ornament of a line of (moveable) sarcophagi, containing the bones of the early archbishops. This church, like a rock deserted by the tide, is the solitary vestige of the suburb formerly designated 'Classis,' from the fleet that anchored under its walls—the spot is now four miles distant from the sea, and most dreary and desolate, the tide of population ebbed for ever. But the church is not the less interesting, both on account of its architecture and its mosaics, and an hour's ride to the North of it will carry you into the depths of the Pineta, or pine-forest, which supplied the ships that wafted Augustus to Actium and the Crusaders to Palestine, and where, if you watch in vain for the spectre Theodore and the scornful Honoria, you may at least hear the birds singing as sweetly to the accompaniment of breeze and bough as they did in Dante's ear when he wrote those lovely lines in the

[1] See Gibbon, chap. 61.

[2] As far back as the fifteenth century.

Purgatorio, introductory of Matilda; the whole description, indeed, and not one poor simile only, breathes of the Pineta. "Mais revenons à nos moutons!"[1]

As lonely as S. Apollinare, and, architecturally, still more interesting, is the Duomo of Torcello, the parent island of Venice—the fastness to which the Heneti and Aquileians fled before the face of Alaric and Attila. It was rebuilt, but evidently in its primitive form, at the beginning of the eleventh century, by Lombard architects. Being a cathedral, it is fronted by a Baptistery, octagonal and very small, only six paces in every direction, lighted by two diminutive windows, and attached to the church by the portico. Within, almost every feature of the basilica is seen in perfection, particularly the cancellum, or screen of the choir, here peculiarly handsome, a beautiful double ambo of white marble, and the bishop's throne, elevated behind the altar so as to overlook the whole church, with the seats for the clergy to the right and left, rising in seemly tiers in the semicircular form of a theatre. Here too the mosaics, if not the architecture, will amply reward you for the excursion.[2]

Another of the later basilicas, and of peculiar interest, is that of S. Zenone at Verona; the façade, and the beautiful Campanile, are in the Lombard style, but the interior preserves the basilica form complete, and is remarkable for the two triumphal arches which span the nave, a third, as usual, admitting to the sanctuary,—as well as for the splendour of the crypt, supported by about forty slender columns, clustered, round and polygonal, surrounding the tomb, and for the three noble flights of steps, one of them leading down to the crypt, the other two, to the right and left, ascending to the presbytery,—the former occupying the breadth of the nave, the latter that of the aisles. The Duomo too, at Verona, of the ninth century, with its giant-like procession of columns, is singularly beautiful and impressive.

Lastly, I would fain interest you in my well-beloved S.

[1] For the ancient churches of Ravenna consult the work by A. F. von Quast, entitled 'Die alt-Christlichen Bauwerke von Ravenna, vom fünften bis zum neunten Jahrhundert,' etc. Berlin, fol. 1842.

[2] The exterior of this church exhibits the unusual number of five absides. The crypt, like that of S. Apollinare in Classe, consists of a central oratory and tomb, descended to from either side of the upper sanctuary by a curving passage, having much more resemblance to a catacomb than the lofty crypts, or subterranean churches, introduced by the Lombards.

Miniato al Monte, near Florence, remarkable for the purity and almost classic taste of its architecture and decoration,—graceful and yet august in its simplicity. You will especially notice the cancellum, with its exquisite mosaic-work, here occupying the presbytery, as well as the reading-desk, or ambo, in which the Lombard taste for imagery, elsewhere repressed, very excusably luxuriates. The crypt, like that of S. Zenone, would be beautiful, did not its excessive height impair the unity of the whole,—and exception too might be taken to the slabs of transparent alabaster, the 'lapis specularis' of the ancients, inserted in the walls of the tribune. But these are trifles, comparatively, and I shall be content to rank as a false prophet if you do not return again and again to S. Miniato—or at least to the platform half-way up the hill, near the church of S. Francesco; there is nothing on earth lovelier than the view that will thence greet you, whether, sitting on the broken wall, you gaze up at that graceful façade, and at the steeple, which Michael Angelo, out of love for its exceeding beauty, defended by mattresses against the balls his own patriotic artillery provoked against it—or downwards on the vale of the Arno and its bounding hills, dotted with white villas, and on fair Florence beneath with her dome and her towers, seen between the cypresses.[1]

But we must now turn to the subject of Baptisteries. The resemblance of these to the ancient baths is most striking, and under the circumstances nothing is more natural than that those baths should have served as their model. Still, from their internal arrangement, their isolation, and juxta-position at the same time with the Cathedrals to which they belong, they derive a character, consistency and beauty of their own, far surpassing that of their pagan prototypes.

These Baptisteries arose, architecturally considered, under very favourable auspices—the result, in great measure, of the ecclesiastical doctrine and discipline which prevailed at the time of their construction.

The Church material being the image of the Church spiritual, within which nothing impure can enter, it was requisite that the rite of ablution, by which spiritual purity

[1] Besides the above-mentioned churches in the basilica form, I may specify those of S. Maria at Toscanella, near Viterbo, finished before the close of the sixth century—S. Frediano and S. Michele at Lucca, respectively of the seventh and eighth, although newly faced in the Lombard style—S. Ambrogio at Milan, of the ninth—and S. Niccolò at Bari, consecrated in 1103.

was preliminarily conferred, should take place without its walls, —consequently, that a distinct edifice should be appropriated for the purpose. But as the neophyte, in that day, proceeded from the font direct to the altar, or table of communion, there to partake of the Eucharist, or Sacramentary Supper of the Lord, this edifice was necessarily to be contiguous to the church, although detached from it. Moreover, the frequent practice of postponing baptism to manhood,[1] and the perpetual occurrence of adult conversion, to say nothing of the very strong opinion then prevalent in favour of complete immersion, required the font to be of ample dimensions. While, lastly, the restriction, for many centuries, to the Episcopal order of the privilege of baptising, and the practice of only performing the rite, except in cases of urgency, twice in the year, at Easter, namely, and Whitsuntide, occasioning a great influx of people at those periods, demanded correspondent encircling space for the spectators, and an architectural distribution calculated for the concentration of their attention on the Font, as the focus of interest.

All these considerations were attended to in the Baptisteries of Constantine, and may be said to have found their accomplishment in those shortly afterwards erected by the Latin Church.

They are, for the most part, octagonal buildings, surmounted by cupolas, borrowed, at least in their improved form, from Byzantium—and situated, where symmetry and propriety have been most attended to, in front of the central door of the Cathedral.[2] The Font is placed in the centre of the building, directly underneath the cupola; in the earliest examples, as in the baptistery adjoining the Lateran, it consists of a shallow octagonal basin, descended into by three steps, precisely similar to the pagan bath—in later instances it has more resemblance to an elevated reservoir.[3] The figure of

[1] From belief in the plenary remission of sins at baptism, and the *quasi* irremissibility of sin after it. Constantine postponed his baptism to his deathbed. Many purposely so deferred it, that they might prolong the period of youthful dissipation, and sweep off all their sins at once, when satiated with vice. See (for instance) S. Gregory of Nyssa's Sermon against those who defer their baptism, *Opera*, tom. ii. p. 215, edit. 1638.

[2] Such seems to have been the case in the Cathedral at Tyre, as described by Eusebius.

[3] Sometimes it receives the shape of a sarcophagus, in allusion to our "death unto sin and new birth unto righteousness," *Coloss.* ii. 12, etc., typified by the death and resurrection of our Saviour.

the octagon was peculiarly insisted on; even when the baptistery itself is round, the cupola is generally octagonal, and the font almost always so. This may have been, in the first instance, mere imitation of the pagan baths, in which the octagon constantly occurs, but the Christians, ever studious of symbolism, gave it a mystic sense, as expressing Our Saviour's resurrection on the eighth day—the first, that is to say, of spiritual creation, after accomplishing the six days of the material, and resting on the seventh. Such, at least, is the reason assigned in some verses attributed to S. Ambrose, and said to have been formerly inscribed on a baptistery at Milan.[1] And in a similar manner, the three steps by which, in the earliest baptisteries, the convert entered the font, were understood to signify, in descent, his renunciation of the world, the flesh and the devil—in ascent, his confession of the three Persons of the Trinity. Whether in elevating above a font, significative of the Jordan, a cupola, symbolical of heaven, the ancients intended a further reference to the baptism of Our Saviour, I cannot say; the propriety and beauty of the allusion involuntarily suggest such an interpretation.

Of these Baptisteries three of great antiquity exist at Rome; a small round one, near S. Agnese, built by Constantine, but afterwards converted into the funeral chapel of his daughter Constantia—another, now named S. Stefano Rotondo, of the fifth century, rather larger, but also round—and the noble edifice, above alluded to as adjacent to the Lateran, commonly attributed to Constantine, but in reality of later construction by a century, and which in becoming the model of all the baptisteries subsequently reared by the Latin Church, fixed the octagonal as their ruling character:—But it has been sadly modernised, and the whole upper story is an addition of the seventeenth century.[2]

By far, however, the most interesting of all the early baptisteries, is that of S. Giovanni in Fonte, at Ravenna, built in the fifth century,—octagonal, and preserving its original

[1] Quoted (from 'Gruter's Inscriptiones,' p. 1166) by Ciampini, *Vett. Monimenta*, tom. ii. p. 22. The Gnostic heretics also attached a significance (on other grounds) to the Ogdoad, or number of eight.

[2] To this list, but bearing more resemblance to S. Stefano and S. Costanza, I may add S. Maria Maggiore, a round edifice of very early date, with a double row of columns and an octagonal font, near Nocera de' Pagani, on the road between Naples and Salerno. It strongly resembles a bath.

octagonal font and ancient reading-desk, and with its cupola incrusted with contemporary mosaics—most characteristic in every respect, and well deserving of a visit.

Of later construction, built by the Lombards, but on the same general principles, I may enumerate that of Bologna, of the eighth century, now, under the name of S. Stefano, the nucleus of a whole cluster of early chapels and churches—the Baptistery of Florence, nearly of the same date, and which for many centuries served as a Cathedral—the small one at Torcello, already mentioned—those of Volterra, Cremona, Verona, Padua, Parma (the latter octagonal without, but sixteen-sided within, the vast ribs, rising directly from the ground and meeting in the centre of the vault, giving it a singular air of majesty),—and lastly, that of Pisa—grouping to such advantage with the Duomo, Campanile and Campo Santo, of correspondent Lombard architecture, and remarkable within for a font, of the usual octagonal shape, and ascended by three steps, for adult immersion, surrounded by smaller basons for that of infants, and peculiarly interesting from its presenting, probably, an exact parallel to that, no longer existing, in the Baptistery at Florence, for breaking which, in order to rescue a drowning child, Dante complains of having incurred the imputation of impiety.[1]

During the first eight centuries, therefore, after Constantine, Baptisteries were, in theory at least, if not invariably in practice, distinct structures, adjacent to the Cathedral yet unconnected with it. But after the eleventh century, parish-priests being allowed to baptize, they ceased to be indispensable, and though several were built during the two following centuries (the Lombard architects, apparently, taking especial delight in rearing them), few or none are met with after the introduction of Pointed architecture—that of Pistoja, built by Andrea Pisano, being, so far as I am aware, the solitary exception. Fonts of small dimensions, but still preserving, usually, the octagonal shape, were then placed within the churches, but always near a door, still keeping up the idea of initiation, and these have been perpetuated to the present day.

But while Baptisteries have degenerated into Fonts, the Funeral Chapels—of which we recognised the prototypes in the sepulchral cells of the Catacombs—have disappeared alto-

[1] *Inferno*, canto xix.

gether, at least in Christendom and as distinct edifices, being superseded, apparently, by the chapels which it became the fashion to annex to churches and cathedrals. The 'Memoriae,' commemorative of Saints and Martyrs, which covered the country in the early ages, seem to have been structures of this description; none of these now remain, but we doubtless see their exact form and distribution in the Santons' tombs that form so picturesque a feature in the scenery of Turkey—borrowed, like the rest of her architecture, from Byzantium, though, in this case, ultimately (I fancy) from subterranean Rome.[1]

Two specimens only, properly speaking, of the style remain in Italy,[2] and both at Ravenna—the one, the mausoleum built by Galla Placidia to receive the remains of herself and her two sons, the Emperors Honorius and Valentinian; the building is as fresh as if finished yesterday, the vaults covered with mosaics, and the three sarcophagi remaining still in their places—the other, that of Theodoric the Goth, raised to his memory by his daughter, Amalasuntha,—I know few monuments so interesting, and it is highly picturesque externally, an attraction which that of Placidia wants. The body of the structure is round, and elevated high in the air on a decagonal basement supported by circular arches, now filled nearly to the suffit with water; the interior is lighted by two small loop-holes only; the sarcophagus is gone; the roof is of one solid stone, or rather rock, hollowed into the shape of a cupola, and dropped as it were from heaven—three feet thick, more than thirty in diameter, and weighing two hundred tons—the broad loops or rings, by which it was lowered, jutting out, externally, like ragged battlements, having never been smoothed away The whole building, though not large, has a rugged, craggy, eternal character about it,—weeds tuft themselves among the masonry, and the breeze dallies with them as on the mountain-side, and the scene is nearly as lonely. This monument, although unquestionably of Roman masonry, is the sole relic of what alone can pretend to the title of Gothic architecture—and most eminently characteristic it is of the indomitable race of the North; one would think they feared that neither Alaric nor Theodoric could be held down in their graves except by

[1] Constantine erected many of these Memoriae in and around Constantinople. *Life*, by Eusebius, lib. iii. cap. 48.

[2] Excluding S. Costanza, at Rome.

a river rolling over the one, and a mountain covering the other.[1]

Finally, as the most important of this class of buildings, I must mention the circular church erected by Helen, the mother of Constantine, at Jerusalem, on the supposed site of the Holy Sepulchre, and long since destroyed, but rebuilt in the primitive form, as we now see it, in the ninth century. It has been the parent of a whole family of round churches in different parts of Europe, built for the most part by the Knights Templars, one of which, lately restored, graces the English metropolis.[2]

Such were the three distinct classes of Ecclesiastical edifices originated in the Western world by the conversion of Constantine—reiterated for ages afterwards by the Latin Church—frequently adopted by the Byzantine, although in possession of an independent architecture—and never completely superseded, at least as regards the most important of the three, the basilica, till the fifteenth century, when Latin, Lombard and Pointed architecture all went down before the revived antique, or Cinquecento. There were, of course, exceptions to these general forms, but scarcely of sufficient consequence to justify their classification as a separate category.[3]

I should add, that, during the whole period intervening between the age of Constantine and that of Cosmo de' Medici, architects seem to have arisen from time to time with an inclination to revert to the models of ancient Rome, thus anticipating the principle of the Cinquecento. The Baptistery of Florence is an instance of this, being an evident imitation of the Pantheon, and the like tendency may be observed in S. Miniato, and in the church of the Apostles, at Florence, supposed to have been imitated from it, and which is said to have first awakened the genius and ambition of Brunellesco.

[1] According to a legend still current in Arabia, a vast pile of stones was heaped over the grave of Antar, by order of his mother, fearing lest he should burst through. The query suggests itself, did pyramids, in their sepulchral character, the enormous barrows of Asia Minor, the cairns of the Celtic nations, etc., originate in a similar apprehension? And has the belief in vampyres any connection with it?

[2] Another round church, consecrated however in 1101, prior to the foundation of the Order of Knights Templars, exists at Cambridge, and has lately been restored under the superintendence of the Camden Society.

[3] See chapter eleventh of Mr. Hope's 'Historical Essay on Architecture,' a work which I cannot name without admiration and gratitude.

Section 3.—Sculpture and Painting of the Catacombs, and Ancient Roman School of Painting, as perpetuated North and South of the Alps during the middle ages.

As the earliest Christian Architecture (if it may be called such) exists in the Catacombs, there too we find the earliest traces of a Sculpture and Painting, specially dedicated to Christian purposes. The Catacombs, themselves, indeed, are now, for the most part, closed up, while from those still accessible the tombs have been removed by man, the paintings obliterated by time. Nevertheless some specimens of the latter, and a very rich collection of the former, may still be seen in the 'Museum Christianum' in the Vatican, amply enabling us, with the assistance of the 'Roma Subterranea,' to estimate their character and excellence.

I have already described the subterraneous chambers, or sepulchral cells, their lateral recesses for sarcophagi, and the domes which crowned them; I proceed very briefly to enumerate the cycle of compositions usually represented on these domes and sarcophagi, and which, though far inferior in interest to those of the Byzantines, must not be passed over unnoticed, as they formed the models of Roman sculpture and painting for many centuries. Considered as works of art, it must be confessed, they are but poor productions—the meagreness of invention only equalled by the feebleness of execution—perpetually reminding one, it is true, of the works of classic sculpture, especially the basreliefs of Trajan's column, the great school of design during the third and fourth centuries—but inferior, generally speaking, to the worst specimens of contemporary heathen art. There is little to wonder at in this when we remember the oppressed condition of the Christians at the time, and (I am afraid I must add) the poverty of imagination which uniformly characterised Rome, even in her palmy period. It is therefore with other views than those of criticism that you will examine a series of compositions, which have their own peculiar interest in the light they throw on the sentiments of the community that originated them.

Of these compositions, by far the most interesting is that of Our Saviour as the Good Shepherd, which is almost invariably

painted on the central space of the dome or cupola, subjects of minor interest being disposed around it in compartments, precisely in the style, as regards both the arrangement and execution, of the heathen catacombs.[1]

He is represented as a youth in a shepherd's frock and sandals, carrying the "lost sheep" on his shoulders, or leaning on his staff (the symbol, according to S. Augustine, of the Christian hierarchy), while the sheep feed around, or look up at him; in a beautiful Greek mosaic in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia, at Ravenna, he feeds one of them with his right hand, holding a small cross in the other. Sometimes he is represented seated in the midst of the flock, playing on a shepherd's pipe,—in a few instances, in the oldest catacombs, he is introduced in the character of Orpheus, surrounded by wild beasts enrapt by the melody of his lyre,—Orpheus, as you will recollect, being then supposed to have been a prophet or precursor of the Messiah. The background usually exhibits a landscape or meadow, sometimes planted with olive-trees, doves resting on their branches, symbolical of the peace of the faithful; in others, as in a fresco preserved in the Museum Christianum, the palm of victory is introduced,—but such combinations are endless. In one or two instances the surrounding compartments are filled with personifications of the Seasons, apt emblems of human life, whether natural or spiritual, though we may be startled perhaps, however appropriate to the Catacombs, in admitting the parallel traced by one Christian writer[2] between winter and idolatry, spring and baptism, summer and the glow of Christian love, autumn and martyrdom.[3]

This subject of the Good Shepherd, I am sorry to add, is not of Roman but Greek origin, and was adapted from a statue of Mercury carrying a goat, at Tanagra, mentioned by Pausanias.[4] The Christian composition approximates to its original more nearly in the few instances where Our Saviour

[1] For an illustration of this see the 'Histoire de l'Art' of Seroux d'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 4.

[2] S. Zeno of Verona, as quoted in the *Roma Subt.*, tom. ii. p. 600.

[3] The device of a Shepherd surrounded by the Seasons, was discovered in the course of last century in a pagan tomb at Rome,—adding another to the proofs innumerable of the habitual Christianisation of heathen traditions. Tertullian, in his treatise 'De Pudicitiâ,' cap. 7, mentions the symbol of the Good Shepherd as the usual ornament of the sacramental chalice,—and still more emphatically, cap. 10; *Opera*, pp. 559 and 563, edit. 1744.

[4] See lib. ix. cap. 22, p. 752, edit. Kuhnii.

is represented carrying a goat, emblematical of the scapegoat of the wilderness. A small statue and a fresco, representing the more usual composition, may still be seen in the Museum Christianum. Singularly enough, though of Greek parentage, and recommended to the Byzantines by Constantine, who erected a statue of the Good Shepherd in the forum of Constantinople,[1] the subject did not become popular among them; they seem, at least, to have tacitly abandoned it to Rome.

The head of Our Saviour, you will observe, in this as in all the early Latin compositions in which his figure is introduced, is not the well known traditional one. Whether or not the genuine likeness had been preserved in the East, it was unknown, as such, in the Latin Church in the time of Augustine.[2] In the early days of the Church, both in the East and West, he was represented as an abstraction, as the Genius, so to speak, of Christianity—a beardless youth, to signify the everlasting prime of eternity; this is the case throughout the Catacombs, and the idea, as I shall instance hereafter, was not unfrequently reiterated by the Greek Church, especially when attempting to portray the scenes connected with his future glory. It drew its last and highest sanction from Michael Angelo.

Another representation of Our Saviour, almost wholly confined to Sculpture, and which usually occupies the central compartment in the front of sarcophagi, represents him standing on the symbolical rock, or mountain of paradise, from which gush out the four rivers, emblematical of the evangelists; S. Peter and S. Paul attend on his right and left; a lamb with a cross on its head, symbolical of the atonement, frequently stands on the mount beside him, and occasionally a line of sheep below, representing the apostles.

The remaining compositions of the cycle (among which I reckon those only which received a fixed traditional form, and were constantly reiterated) are as follows:[3]

[1] Life of Constantine by Eusebius, lib. iii. cap. 49.

[2] This appears from a passage in the fourth chapter of his eighth book 'De Trinitate'—to be understood, however, as M. Raoul-Rochette shows, as implying no more than that, out of the multitude of likenesses of Our Saviour then current, none possessed an undisputed or recognised character of authenticity.—*Discours sur l'origine, le développement et le caractère des Types Imitatifs qui constituent l'art du Christianisme.* Paris, 1834.

[3] Minute descriptions and illustrations of these may be found in the 'Roma Subterranea,' and in Dr. Fred. Münter's *Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen.* Altona, 2 tom. 4to. 1825. I would only observe that these works include several subjects in the cycle which appear to

FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I. The Fall.—Adam and Eve standing to the right and left of the Tree of Knowledge, round which the Serpent is coiled; the apple, as apparent from the cinctures round their waists, has been already eaten; sometimes, instead of the tree, Our Saviour (as the representative of the Deity) stands between, condemning them, and offering a lamb to Eve and a sheaf of corn to Adam, to signify the doom of themselves and their posterity to delve and to spin through all future ages. The former of these compositions is common to Rome with Byzantium, the latter is exclusively Roman.

II. The Offering of Cain and Abel.—They present a lamb and a sheaf of corn to a seated figure, intended, I presume, for the Almighty, and in its profile and relative size, not unlike the gigantic statues of the heathen deities. This is not a very common subject, but was certainly traditional.

III. Noah in the Ark—a mere tub, less than himself—receiving the dove with the olive-branch in its mouth.

IV. Abraham's Sacrifice.—His son Isaac bound—the hand of God from heaven arresting the knife—a ram standing beside the altar.[1]

V. The Passage of the Red Sea.

VI. Moses receiving the Law—delivered to him by a hand from heaven.

VII. Moses striking water from the rock,—constantly reiterated both in sculpture and painting.

VIII. Moses pointing to several pots full of manna.

IX. Elijah's translation to heaven in the fiery chariot. Not uncommon, and perhaps the most spirited of the series.

X. The three Children, Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego, in the fiery furnace.

XI. Daniel in the den of lions,—generally represented standing, in the attitude of prayer,[2] naked, his hands expanded crosswise, a lion couching on either side of him.[3]

XII. Jonah swallowed up by the whale.

me to belong more properly to Byzantium, and others which occur so rarely as scarcely to be considered traditional.

[1] S. Gregory of Nyssa is reported to have frequently shed tears when contemplating this composition. *Roma Subterranea*, tom. ii. p. 463.

[2] The early Christians prayed kneeling, as conscious of sin and misery, during the six days of the week, but standing, in joyful commemoration of the resurrection, on the Sunday.

[3] A statue of Daniel, thus represented, was erected by Constantine in the forum at Constantinople. *Life*, by Eusebius, lib. iii. cap. 49.

XIII. Jonah disgorged again.

XIV. Jonah reposing under his booth.

XV. Jonah grieving and disconsolate after he gourd had withered.

FROM THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. The Nativity—with the ox and ass kneeling before the cradle, *dramatis personæ* preserved in every age of Christian art, according to the text, "The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his master's crib, but Israel doth not know, my people doth not consider"—fancifully interpreted, the ox as the Jew subjected to the yoke of the law, the ass as the heathen worshipper of idols.

II. The Adoration of the Magi—three in number and represented with Phrygian caps. Sometimes joined with the Nativity.

III. Our Saviour turning water into wine.

IV. Our Saviour conversing with the woman of Samaria.

V. Our Saviour healing the man sick of the palsy.

VI. Our Saviour healing the woman with the issue of blood.

VII. Our Saviour multiplying the loaves and fishes.

VIII. Our Saviour healing the daughter of the woman of Canaan.

IX. Our Saviour healing the blind man.

X. Our Saviour raising Lazarus.

XI. Our Saviour's entry in triumph into Jerusalem.

To which may be added, though found only (I believe) on the tombs :—

XII. Our Saviour giving S. Peter the keys—very rare.

XIII. Our Saviour predicting the denial of S. Peter.

XIV. S. Peter denying our Saviour—the cock either standing on the ground beside him, or on the capital of a pillar.

XV. Our Saviour before Pilate, the latter seated in moody thought, while water is brought him in a vase to wash his hands.

XVI. S. Peter taken to prison.[1]

[1] The following subjects also occur, but so rarely as not to justify their insertion in the cycle,—Moses unloosing his sandals, the Patience of Job, David with his sling, Tobias with the fish, and some others. Few or no representations occur of primitive rites, —one of an Agape, or love-feast, and that uninteresting, excepted. Sometimes (as elsewhere intimated) the Church is personified by a solitary female figure, standing with her hands

Nothing probably will surprise you at first sight more, on reading this list, than the paucity of subjects selected from the history of Our Saviour, and the exclusion of almost every one of those most interesting scenes which marked his sojourn upon earth, and have been the cherished theme of Christian Art in every later age—the Annunciation, for instance, the Flight into Egypt, his Baptism, Transfiguration, Agony in the Garden, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Ascension, and the Descent of the Holy Spirit. And this surprise will increase when, on becoming familiar with the originals in the Vatican and elsewhere, you find that, with the exception of the Good Shepherd and the Saviour standing on the Mount of Paradise, the subjects from the Old Testament are repeated at least ten times more frequently than those selected from the New.

This peculiarity, whether it arose from reverence or fear, or want of skill, constitutes the most marked feature in the early Christian art of Rome, and distinguishes it in a very striking manner from that of Byzantium. While the Greeks seem to recognise no medium between absolute symbolism and direct representation, Rome seems to have adopted from the first, and steadily adhered to, a system of Typical Parallelism—of veiling the great incidents of redemption, and the sufferings, faith, and hopes of the Church, under the parallel and typical events of the patriarchal and Jewish dispensation—admitting no direct representations from Gospel history but such as illustrate the kingly office of the Saviour, and the miracles by which he prefigured the illumination of the spirit and the resurrection of the body. Thus, reviewing and classifying the series just enumerated, we have, after the Fall into sin, the Offering of Cain and Abel, contrasting natural and revealed religion—Moses receiving the Law, which was to be as a schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ—Pilate washing his hands, Abraham's Sacrifice, Jonah swallowed and disgorged by the

outstretched in prayer ; a figure, indeed, of this description fills the central compartment or niche in many heathen sarcophagi. Occasionally the Virgin and child are met with, the child sitting in the lap of the Virgin, and both directly facing the spectator ; but these are certainly later than the Council of Ephesus, held A.D. 431. In the Epistle of Remonstrance from Pope Gregory II. to the Emperor Leo the Iconoclast, c. 712, he mentions the life of Our Saviour and the Virgin, the Last Supper, the Resurrection of Lazarus, the Healing of the Leper, the Transfiguration, the Crucifixion, the Burial of Our Saviour, his Resurrection, his Ascension, the Descent of the Holy Spirit, and the offering of Isaac by Abraham, as usual subjects of pictorial representation. Several of these are not enumerated in the present letter, being rather, as previously hinted, of Byzantine origin.

whale, and the Translation of Elijah, typifying respectively the innocence, death, resurrection, and ascension of Our Saviour —Christ healing the blind man, signifying the illumination of the heart—Noah welcoming the dove with the olive-branch, emblematising reconciliation and peace through baptism, of which the deluge was a type, as the ark was of the Church—the Passage of the Red Sea, figurative of the like initiatory transition from the spiritual Egypt to the camp of the Church Militant, pilgrimising to Canaan—Moses striking water from the rock, significative of spiritual blessings derived to the Church through Christ—Moses pointing to the pots of manna, as shadowing Him who spoke of himself as "bread from heaven," and who gives us spiritual food, his body broken for our sins, in the Eucharist—Christ turning water into wine, allusive apparently to the corresponding element of the Lord's Supper—Jonah's Repose under the gourd, and his Sorrow after it had withered, Christ's conversation with the woman of Samaria, the Cure of the daughter of the Canaanite woman, and that of her diseased with the issue of blood, all prefiguring the conversion of the Gentiles—the Three Children in the furnace, and Daniel in the den of lions, representing the faithful in affliction, and in their deliverance, a type of the resurrection—the Resurrection of Lazarus, of all the New Testament subjects the most frequently depicted, still more directly typifying the same blessed prospect—and, to conclude, the Adoration of the Magi, and Our Saviour's triumphal entry into Jerusalem, the latter foreshadowing his ultimate entry as the King of Glory into the New Jerusalem, the former the consummation of this world's history, when all monarchs shall have become his vassals, "and all nations shall call him blessed." Such, and by no strained interpretation, is the creed of the Catacombs.[1]

[1] I have cited only the most obvious and universally acknowledged interpretations, and such as, I cannot doubt, influenced the primitive Christians in the choice of subjects for representation by art. But a system much more fanciful and recondite was introduced, or rather grew out of them, at a very early period, and appears in full maturity in the writings of the Fathers of the fourth century. Some of their analogies are very ingenious, and to a certain extent warranted by Scripture, that of the Passage of the Red Sea, for instance, as typical of Baptism, Egypt answering to the world, Pharaoh to the prince of this world, the Devil, Moses' rod to the cross of Christ, the Red Sea to the laver of regeneration, and the Egyptians to our sins, original and actual, drowned in it along with Satan, as they attempt to pursue us. But, on the other hand, they not unfrequently verge on the ludicrous, as when Saints Augustine and Jerome respectively

Yet it is not the doctrinal so much as the practical lesson that should interest us in these early records of Christian feeling; it is the illustration they afford of the spirit of the primitive Christians under suffering, of their faith, their hope, their charity—"men," of whom it may be truly said, "the world was not worthy;" amid "mockings and scourgings, bonds and imprisonment, destitute, afflicted, tormented, tempted, slain with the sword, stoned, sawn asunder," not a thought of bitterness, or revenge has expressed itself in sculpture or painting during three centuries—not a single instance has been recorded of the tortures and martyrdoms which have furnished such endless food for the pencil in later ages.[1] Even the sufferings of Christ are alluded to merely by the cross, borne lightly in his hand, as a sceptre of power rather than a rod of affliction; the agony, the crown of thorns, the nails, the spear, seem all forgotten in the fulness of joy brought by his resurrection. This is the theme, Christ's resurrection and that of the Church in his person, on which, in their peculiar language, the artists of the Catacombs seem

identify the door of the Ark, and the aperture in the rock which emitted water when struck by Moses, with the wound in Our Saviour's side, from whence issued water and blood, the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist; and when Ambrose and Augustine, agreeing in the identification of David and our Saviour, Goliath and Satan, differ, the latter in interpreting the sling as the Church and the stones as the orthodox, the former in explaining the scrip as Christ's humanity, the sling as his tongue, and the five stones as the five books of Moses, by citing one of which, only, the Deuteronomy, he prevailed in his temptation. The five books of Moses, I may add, are a very fertile theme for allegory, and have been plentifully speculated on in this manner; S. Isidore identifies them with the five husbands of the woman of Samaria, otherwise the Synagogue, and S. Cyril of Alexandria with the five loaves multiplied by Our Saviour, the two fishes representing the writings of those "fishers of men," the Apostles. —I cite these instances, not in an irreverent spirit, but as illustrative of the danger of pushing analogies, even of those of Scripture, too far, and of basing argument upon them.

[1] One instance occurs in the 'Roma Subterranea,'—the martyrdom of S. Sebastian, but it is evidently of comparatively recent date.[1] After persecution had ceased, martyrdoms were multiplied *ad infinitum*. Many such are mentioned by S. Basil, S. Gregory of Nyssa, S. Paulinus of Nola, etc., as popular subjects of representation. M. Raoul-Rochette considers them to have been introduced and rendered popular in the West by the Greek monks, expelled during the Iconoclast persecution, and who were almost all of the order of S. Basil.—*Discours*, etc., p. 52.

[1] See M. Raoul-Rochette's 'Discours,' p. 54. He observes that the subject of S. Sebastian has been always extremely popular in Christian Italy, and that it is not uninteresting to recollect, "que la Grèce antique possédoit une statue en bronze du *héros* Diitréphès, percé de flèches, ὀίστοῖς βεβλημένος, *Pausan.* i. 23.2, qui dut ressembler beaucoup au St. Sébastien."

never weary of expatiating; Death swallowed up in victory, and the victor crowned with the amaranth wreath of immortality, is the vision ever before their eyes, with a vividness of anticipation which we, who have been born to this belief, can but feebly realise.[1] I am far from being an implicit admirer of the Ante-Nicene Church, but nowhere, it must be confessed, does its spirit shine with so pure a lustre as in the Catacombs.[2]

The cycle of compositions above enumerated (after receiving probably the sanction of Constantine in the church dedicated by him to Our Saviour at Rome, and in which we are informed that the history of the Old and New Testament was represented on the opposite walls[3]) continued to be reiterated in the Latin

[1] Many of the typical events which are found so constantly reiterated in the Catacombs, *e.g.* the resurrection of Lazarus, the release of Jonah from the whale's belly, the preservation of the three children in the fiery furnace, and of Daniel in the den of lions, the healing of the man sick of the palsy and of the blind man, the feeding of the five thousand, and the turning the water into wine—are enumerated in a remarkable passage of the 'Apostolical Constitutions,' as prophecies or pledges of the resurrection of mankind.—Lib. v. cap. 7; *Patres Apostolici*, tom. i. p. 309.

[2] The usual symbols of Christianity, as enumerated in my introductory Memoranda, are constantly intermingled with the above more definite representations, but always in a subordinate capacity, the Latins never imitating the Byzantines in making them a first object. From this list, however, the *vesica piscis*, a device of peculiarly Greek origin, must be excepted, as it never (to the best of my belief) occurs in the Catacombs, though introduced in a very singular manner in the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore as early as the fifth century, mosaics in which the influence of the Roman basreliefs is very apparent. Nor do the angels, which figure so constantly in these mosaics in full-grown stature, ever appear in the Catacombs; the nearest approach to them are the child-like genii that sport among the vine-branches, bearing the strongest resemblance to those in the sculptures of Baalbec and other heathen temples. The omission is singular, and can hardly be imputed to religious scruple, when we find the river-gods of paganism constantly introduced with their urns—a licence indulged in by the common consent of artists in every school and every country of Europe throughout the whole course of the middle ages.

[3] S. Ambrose also painted the walls of his basilica at Milan, with the history of the Old Testament.—Raoul-Rochette, *Discours*, etc., p. 48. The sarcophagus of the Princess Constantia, once in the funeral chapel near S. Agnese, and now in the Vatican, and that of the prefect of Rome, Junius Bassus, of the Anician family, so celebrated during the decline of the empire, and who died in 359—now preserved in the subterranean church of S. Peter, and engraved in the second volume of Pistolesi's great work on the Vatican, plate 19—may be cited as the fairest specimens of Roman sculpture, contemporary with the establishment of Christianity by Constantine. I may also mention as of some, though inferior interest, the curious tomb of Titus Gorgonius, now of S. Liberio, and evidently of Roman workmanship, in the crypt under the southern transept of S. Cyriaco, at Ancona, and that of the Exarch Isaac, who died in 641, near S. Vitale at Ravenna.

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Church, both in sculpture and painting, above ground and under ground, for many ages—long, it is to be feared, after the spirit that originally influenced their selection had become extinct. As works of art, they were lifeless at the very first, so that I cannot, as usual in such cases, lament that the forms survived the spirit which once animated them; but the figures that had been mere *caput mortuums* in the fourth century, had become positive monsters in the ninth and tenth—little better than the rude carvings of savages. I do not reckon in this succession the sculptures of Lombardy, which, uncouth as they may be, have still a life, a spirit, and a peculiar character of their own, indicating an infusion of fresh feeling from the North. But at Rome, and in the South of Italy (and there are works too of Latin authorship even in the North), the traditions and style of the Catacombs are traceable as late as the thirteenth century. In the very curious wooden door of S. Sabina, for instance, we have a specimen of pure unadulterated Latin art—compositions transmitted in direct succession from the sculptors of the Catacombs to a contemporary (in all probability) of Niccola Pisano; Moses receiving the Law and pointing to the pots of manna—Christ changing water into wine—the three Children in the Furnace—the Translation of Elijah—the Adoration of the Kings, and S. Peter's denial of Our Saviour—are all represented precisely as they figure on the tombs in the Museum Christianum.[1] And in the corresponding art of painting, a series of frescoes, executed at the beginning of the eleventh century, and equally rude, exists, or at least did exist till very lately, in the chapel of S. Urbano alla Caffarella, in the suburbs of Rome;[2] and another, in which the Byzantine influence is intermingled, in the little chapel of S. Silvestro attached to the church of the Quattro Santi Incoronati, detailing the history of the Conversion of Constantine with a naiveté which, with the exception of a certain dignity in some of the figures, constitutes their sole attraction. They are indeed little better than Chinese paintings; the ninth of the series, representing Constantine leading Pope Sylvester's horse by the bridle, walking beside him in

[1] See an engraving of this door in Agincourt, *Sculpture*, pl. 22.

[2] Painted by one Bonizzo, 1011, and engraved in Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 94. They represent the history of S. Urban and S. Cecilia, related in my introductory Memoranda. I have not seen them for several years, the hermit who in theory resides habitually on the spot, being scarcely ever at home. Lanzi considers them purely of Latin workmanship.

his long flowing robe, with a *chattah* held over his head by an attendant, has quite an Asiatic character.[1]

But we must look far beyond the walls of the Eternal City if we would trace the painting of classic Rome to its complete extinction. There seems reason to believe that it maintained its ground long, and in almost unmixed purity, in all the provinces which owned the supremacy of Rome, West at least of Greece—provinces which it had originally overspread as the waters of the deluge covered the earth, and where, like them, ages passed away ere it was entirely dried up. We find, at least, a peculiar style of painting, distinct from the Byzantine, pale in colour, and in that respect not unlike the paintings of Pompeii and the Catacombs, and even the still earlier works of Etruria, prevailing over the whole of Lombardy, and even in Germany, France, and England, from the earliest ascertainable epoch till the introduction and ascendancy of the Byzantine and Giottesque influence in the South, and of the Byzantine and Cologne influence in the North,—while in England, in spite of a decided improvement in sculpture, and frequent communication with the reviving schools of painting, it seems to have been perpetuated at least till the close of the fifteenth century. Whether this primitive style was originally imparted to the several native populations by the Roman conquerors, or whether, like the architecture of Constantine, it was carried

[1] They are engraved in Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 101. The date of 1248 was formerly visible on the ceiling, now repainted. The legend of the Conversion of Constantine has been fully detailed among my Memoranda relating to the Christian Mythology. A similar mixture of the Latin and Byzantine style may be seen in the frescoes under the portico of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, of the early part of the thirteenth century—much superior to those I have just noticed. The oldest are the three rows, respectively to the left and right of the door, representing the history of S. Stephen and S. Lawrence (for which the reader may refer to Section ii. of my Letter on Orcagna and Fra Angelico, *infra*); in the third line Peter de Courtenay is represented communicating from the hands of Pope Honorius. But the most spirited are the frescoes on the south wall of the porch, especially two, the second and third of the lowest row, in the first of which, amid a crowd of monks, a young man is stretched out dead, while his good angel watches at his head, holding a book containing the record of his merits—"opera quae benè facit,"—and devils at his feet, with a similar schedule of his failings —"opera quae malè fecit,"—while in the following compartment his soul is seen embracing the knees of the Archangel Michael, who weighs his good and bad actions in the balance, while the devil, fruitlessly, throws his own weight into the scale against him. *Conf.* the third of the 'Floating Legends' in my introductory Memoranda. These frescoes are engraved in the work of Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 99.

with them by the missionaries of Christian Rome into every country which they spiritually colonised, may admit of dispute; both may be true, though I think the latter the more probable supposition. I may add that, of the two great branches or divisions of this early style, the Italian displays less, the Teutonic more originality, and that the chief seat of the former seems to have been Verona, of the latter Cologne.[1] I shall speak of both more at length hereafter.

[1] So far as I am aware, no traces of this primitive style exist at Reggio, Piacenza, Parma, and Bologna, which seem to have taken the lead among the cities of Lombardy in adopting the Byzantine manner. But such traces are recognisable at Verona, Padua, Treviso, Milan, Cremona, Ferrara, Modena, etc., in paintings, still remaining, of the middle of the fourteenth century. It was superseded at Padua about 1370 by the Giottesque, which spread to Verona, but disappeared in both those towns before the middle of the fifteenth century—to be replaced by the great classic school of Lombardy, founded by Squarcione—itself, I have little doubt, a new development (through the influence, originally, of Niccola Pisano) of the same original primitive Roman school, spoken of in the text, and which thus, in renewed youth, extended its influence through Mantegna and Correggio, to the days of the Carracci. For the fortunes of Roman painting north of the Alps, let me refer to the second section of the First part of my Letter on Teutonic Art, *infra*, vol. ii.

INTRODUCTORY.

ROMAN AND BYZANTINE ART.

PERIOD OF PREPARATION.

II. BYZANTINE ART.

SECT. 1. *Architecture of Byzantium.*

SECT. 2. *Design—Traditional Compositions.*

SECT. 3. *Monuments of Byzantine Sculpture, Mosaic, and Painting, till the decadence in the Eleventh Century.*

SECT. 4. *Monuments of Byzantine Sculpture, etc. from the Revival under the Comneni in the Twelfth Century.*

LETTER II.

BYZANTINE ART.

I CAN hardly doubt that the respect with which I have spoken of the arts of Byzantium, in the preceding pages, must have appeared rather strange to you. We are apt to think of the Byzantines as a race of dastards, effete and worn out in body and mind, bondsmen to tradition, form and circumstance, little if at all superior to the slaves of an Oriental despotism—and that too from the very first hour of Constantine's migration to the Bosphorus. Yet even were such indiscriminate dispraise restricted to the latter ages of their decline, the heroic death of the last Constantine might warn us that Men still survived, even in that hour of ruin, to speak the language and wield the sword of Greece; while throughout the whole period of their earlier history, the unbroken line of Christian Fathers, men of undoubted genius, and of learning to which the contemporary West presents but a feeble parallel, amply vindicate their intellectual character. But the fact is, that the influence of Christianity on Byzantium, and of Byzantium on modern Europe, has been much underrated. To say nothing of our debt to her for the preservation and transmission of the Greek language and literature, and as the instructress of the Saracens, from whom, through Spain, we derived our earliest knowledge of the mathematical and physical sciences, it was from Greece that we received our Christianity—it was Greece, still, as of old, the imaginative, the enthusiastic, that supplied Europe with her new mythology—with the whole quarry of legends, ceremonies and superstitions which Rome, keen, sagacious and practical as ever, employed in the structure of that wondrous fabric, the Church of the middle ages. —Byzantium, in a word, represents the Contemplative, as Rome does the Practical element of the original European

character—of the Hindoo or Classic branch of the nations of Christendom,—elements worn out, indeed, and insufficient, considered by themselves detachedly, but which were destined, after the amalgamation of the Hindoo with the Teutonic or Medo-Persian race, of the conquered with the conquerors, to spring up again in renewed youth and vigorous opposition, in the veins of the progeny of that amalgamation, and thus to become the germ of all that is great and glorious in modern history. Pursuing this idea, we shall at once recognise in Byzantine no less than Roman Art the reflection of the element from which it emanated, just as in that of Lombardy, Tuscany and Germany, we shall hereafter trace that of the Teutonic inspiration which gave the first impulse to the arts, no less than to the chivalry, commerce and civil liberty of Europe. We shall thus, moreover, be prepared to find the Byzantines taking the lead in Art, that especial child of the Imagination, throughout the whole period of the dark ages—guarding it like a precious deposit, till the Romano-Teutonic race, the predestined heirs of ancient civilisation, should be grown to manhood, and ready to relieve them of their trust. The Byzantines, in fact, maintained a pre-eminence, unchallenged and unchallengeable, in the three sister arts, till the Lombards took Architecture into their own hands in the seventh and following centuries, and the Tuscans, headed by Niccola Pisano and Giotto, took the lead in Sculpture and Painting in the thirteenth. Ill therefore would it become us to speak disrespectfully of those, with whom we cannot become familiarly acquainted without acknowledging them as our fathers in each of these three branches of modern art.[1]

[1] The view I have taken of Byzantine Art, and of its influence on that of Italy and Europe, is, I fear, at variance with received opinions. Count L. Cicognara, for instance, in his admirable 'Storia della Scultura,' maintains that the arts were never so debased in Italy as to need restoration from abroad, that the whole series of mosaics there existing are by native artists, that the Oriental mosaicists visited Italy as exiles merely, or in search of employment, not because there was any need of their assistance—in a word that his countrymen are under no sort of obligation "di restar debitori del nuovo incremento delle arti ai Greci di Costantinopoli."—*Storia*, etc., tom. i. pp. 475-6, edit. fol. It would be higher praise, and more consistent with truth, to assert, that Italy has carried to perfection what others schemed and chalked out,—that she has succeeded where her predecessors failed. Raphael and Michael Angelo are not losers in glory, because the one rose to excellence on the wings of Perugino, the other on those of Pollajuolo and Signorelli.

Section 1.—Architecture of Byzantium.

The Christian Architecture of Byzantium, less complicated and more original than that of Rome, resembled it in springing at once to perfection at the command of Constantine: the churches dedicated by that Emperor to the Apostles and to the Divine Wisdom (S. Sophia), at Constantinople, displayed its distinctive form and features precisely as they appear in the latest productions of her architects.[1]

These features were few, simple and sublime. Instead of the lengthened nave and transverse presbytery of the Roman basilica, with all its minute though interesting details, four naves or pillared avenues, of equal length and breadth, were disposed at right angles to each other, so as to form the figure of a Cross; while in the centre, beyond the points where each nave terminated, a Dome or Cupola, springing from four arches resting (ultimately) on enormous piers, soared upwards, expanding, as it were, into infinity like the vault of heaven,—such, indeed, we cannot doubt, was its symbolic meaning,[2] taken in connection with the Cross, the emblem of the obedience whereby that heaven was purchased for sinners. In the more sumptuous Byzantine churches, smaller cupolas are also reared over each of the four naves, but this, although it adds to the magnificence of the pile, deteriorates, I think, from its unity and its significance. I have only to add that these Greek churches invariably stand East and West, the Eastern arm of the cross forming the sanctuary, while the Western is fronted by a porch, —that the Western, Northern and Southern arms are frequently lined with triforia, or galleries, for women, above the aisles,— and that windows, round or semi-circular, generally range under the cupola.[3]

[1] The Christians being more numerous than the Pagans, and there being no heathen temples to resort to as quarries, "the architects of Constantinople were immediately enabled to accomplish their wish of giving to the architecture of Christianity a form wholly different from that of Paganism." Hope's 'Hist. Essay,' p. 109. —The cross, it should be remarked, of the church of the Apostles, originally Greek in the edifice of Constantine, was altered to the Latin form, when the church was rebuilt by Justinian.

[2] This is expressly asserted in the case of the Pantheon, by Ammianus Marcellinus and Dion Cassius. See the little pamphlet entitled 'The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge,' p. 5. The roofs of temples, both Christian and Pagan, were frequently painted azure and powdered with stars, to convey the same idea.

[3] M. Didron observes that the form of the cross usually termed

S. Sophia, as rebuilt by Justinian in the sixth century, has universally been considered as the model of Byzantine Architecture, especially in its cupola, which exhibits the first link in that series of progressive improvements, of which the dome of S. Peter's at Rome was the climax and accomplishment.[1] But however and by whomsoever improved and perfected, the Cupola must still remain the peculiar praise and crown of glory of Byzantium. She first discerned its capabilities, and vindicated it to Christianity.

It was not till Justinian reconquered Italy, in 553, when Ravenna became his Western capital and Rome was yielded to the Popes, that the new style found its way into the West. The church of S. Vitale, built by that Emperor at Ravenna, is most interesting, not merely as marking the first appearance of the Byzantine cupola in Italy, but for its own singular beauty and proportion, with which Charlemagne was so delighted, that he adopted it as the model for his celebrated church at Aix-la-Chapelle. It displays almost every Byzantine feature except the cross,—round without and octagonal within, eight lofty arches spring at once from the ground to the base supporting the cupola ; the sanctuary is raised by two steps above the octagonal nave, its walls pierced on either side, above and below, by three arches, while the lower part, and indeed the whole of the remaining walls, are covered with mosaics, which also extend into the absis, or tribune. The capitals of the columns are squared blocks, sculptured with basket-work tracery, a characteristic of the style.[2]

The plan of the Greek cross is more closely adhered to in the three other principal Byzantine churches of Italy, the Duomo of Ancona, dedicated to S. Cyriaco, the little church of S. Fosca at Torcello, and the Cathedral of S. Mark at Venice.

The first-mentioned of these, the Duomo of Ancona, a building, it is supposed, of the end of the tenth century, is very interesting both within and without. The façade is of white marble, the porch Lombard, supported by slender pillars, resting on lions *couchant*, of remarkable spirit ; the interior

Greek is not so peculiar to Byzantium as that "à deux traverses," or in which there are two transepts,—a feature so common in the cathedrals of England, that he infers from it a close and hitherto unsuspected intercourse between the two countries.—*Iconographie de Dieu*, p. 557.

[1] See the 'Histoire de l'Art,' of Count Seroux d'Agincourt, *Archit.* pl. 67, and the accompanying text.

[2] The cupola of S. Vitale became the model of all those executed in Europe for several centuries.

presents the Greek cross, surmounted by a cupola, with the transepts raised several steps above spacious sunken crypts, the Northern (gaudily gilt and spoilt) containing the tomb of S. Cyriaco, the Southern that of S. Liberio.[1] But it is the site of S. Cyriaco that stamps its character, rising on a lofty eminence, conspicuous from afar, both by sea and land, to mariner and pilgrim, and grouping most picturesquely with the varied architectural lines of the Greek-like city it looks down upon.

S. Fosca, on the contrary, has far fewer advantages of position.[2] It is a small building, nearly of the same date as S. Cyriaco, but built of the fragments of older edifices. The interior is singularly simple and beautiful, presenting the Greek cross and dome, while externally it is surrounded on three sides by an open portico, the pillars of which support a slanting wooden roof; they are of all shapes and sizes, some round, some square-shafted, some polygonal,—their capitals, a medley of Corinthian and of square blocks, either absolutely plain or covered with the usual basket-work tracery. This portico connects itself with that of the Duomo, described (among the Latin basilicas) in the preceding letter.

But S. Mark's is the glory of Byzantine Architecture West of the Adriatic. It was erected during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Beside the central dome, each of the four arms of the cross is crowned by a cupola; the whole five, as well as the intervening vaults and walls down to the triforia, are completely incrusted with mosaics; the lower walls are lined with precious marbles; the pavement is of rich *opus Græcanicum*, undulating and uneven like a settling sea—the whole blending and harmonising in the doubtful light into a rich mysterious gloom. The Eastern wing of the cross, or sanctuary, is separated by a screen, supported by low thick columns and surmounted by statues of Our Saviour and the Apostles, at the two extremities of which, attached to the Northern and Southern piers, which support the central cupola, are fixed two pulpits, the one to the left canopied by a *baldacchino*, exactly resembling those seen in the earlier mosaics and the latest portraits of the Turkish Sultans. The confession, or ciborium, within the sanctuary, is also highly curious, but to this as well as to the mosaics, I shall revert

[1] See the preceding letter, note, p. 233.

[2] S. Fosca, or Fusca, was a virgin of Ravenna, martyred at the age of fifteen, with her faithful nurse, Maura, who had converted her. Her remains were carried to Venice a long while afterwards by Vitalis, a Venetian, and buried at Torcello.

hereafter. A portico, crowned with six small cupolas and (like the interior) covered with mosaics, extends the whole length of the Western façade, and is continued along the Northern aisle,—the corresponding Southern wall being similarly faced by the chapel of S. Zeno and the Baptistery.

Imagination can scarcely conceive a greater contrast than exists between this towering pile and the little church I have just described in the neighbouring isle of Torcello. There every thing is on the tiniest scale; you can touch with your hand the capitals of the columns that support the roof,—I have elsewhere noticed the diminutive baptistery, and though the basilica be a respectably-sized parish church, its title of Duomo prepares one to expect a building of far greater magnitude. The contrast is striking too in other respects. The spot once so populous is now almost utterly abandoned. The two churches, the baptistery and steeple, an isolated marble column, an ancient well, sculptured with the Greek cross, the Archivio and Tribunal (such no longer)—these, and one or two dilapidated buildings, all closely adjacent, are the sole remains of the ancient town, and form now the centre of a wilderness; the piazza which they encircled, is completely overgrown with grass and divided by hedgerows—a narrow pathway is the only street; the little birds sing amid the profound silence—and on finishing your survey, you will probably find yourself leaning against the marble pillar which once sustained the flag-staff of the republic, long before those of her tributary principalities, Cyprus and Candia, waved in the breeze. I know nothing in its way like Torcello; it is a scene *sui generis* for simplicity and solitude,—and yet not melancholy, for they are not the ruins of fallen greatness; the emotions excited are akin rather to those one experiences in visiting the source of some mighty river, or gazing at the portrait of a hero in his childhood,—or if a sadness will involuntarily steal on one amidst the solitude, it is little to that which broods over S. Mark's, gorgeous as it rises in its Oriental blazonry; the widowed flag-staffs and the unpeopled piazza tell of a glory that has passed away,—there you are lost in a moral solitude, darkly shadowed by the "desolate cloud" that decay, ruin and disgrace have flung over the "lovely walls" of Venice.

These three cities, Venice, Ancona and Ravenna, maintained

the closest intercourse with Constantinople; acknowledged political dependance, indeed, upon the Eastern empire for ages after the conquest of Justinian, nor was it till the twelfth century that the Greeks lost their last footing in the peninsula. But though the Architecture of Byzantium, in its strict purity, confined itself to the shores of the Adriatic,[1] its influence spread far and wide throughout Europe, the Cross and Cupola, its distinctive features, having been adopted (as we shall see) at a very early period by the Lombards, the last of the Teutonic tribes to settle in Italy, and the first to lead the way towards the civilisation of which we are heirs.

In the East, on the contrary, Byzantine Architecture has flourished to the present day, under various modifications and denominations, coextensively with the Oriental Churches and with Islamism. The Arabs adopted it from the first; the mosque El Mebrak, built by Othman outside the walls of Bozrah in the Wilderness, on the Hadj road to Mecca, still exists, though ruined and forsaken; and the mosque of Lucknow, the Kremlin of Moscow, the Alhambra of Grenada, the Saracenic remains in Sicily, the tombs of Saladin at Damascus, of the Mamlook Sultans near Cairo, and of the Ottoman Emperors at Constantinople, boast the same unmistakable parentage.[2] It is only in the East, moreover, that the external effect of the Dome, and its influence on the Imagination, at once so elevating and so soothing, can be fully appreciated; it is always and everywhere beautiful and appropriate, whether crowning the Santon's tomb, as it glitters in lowliness amid its grove of cypresses, or swelling into air, a vast hemispheric globe, over the populous stillness of some ancient city, suggesting ideas of perfection, durability and repose, on which the mind might brood for ages. Martin must have felt this strongly in designing his vision of the Celestial City for the 'Pilgrim's Progress.'

The Dome, in short, is the true offspring, the peculiar expression of the Contemplative East, and the nations of the West will be found, I think, to have adopted or rejected it nearly in the proportion in which the Contemplative or Active, the Imaginative or Reasoning, the Classic or the Teutonic element has predominated in their character.

[1] With a few scattered exceptions, such as S. César at Arles, the ancient church of S. Vincent and S. Anastasius at Paris, etc. Hope's 'Hist. Essay,' p. 113.

[2] Let me refer to the beautiful sketch by Mr. Hope, 'Historical Essay,' pp. 135-139.

Section 2.—Design and Traditional Compositions of Byzantium.

But it was in design, more especially, that the Byzantines evinced their superiority during the middle ages,—and this by universal and cheerful acknowledgment. Greek artists were employed in every church of consequence, to decorate it with appropriate mosaic-work, and though there may be reason to believe that the Latins after awhile learnt to execute for themselves the 'Opus Græcanicum' which composed the pavement, and that finer incrustation which embellished the ciboria and reading-desks, it appears certain that their enterprise soared no higher, and that the execution of those extensive and more intricate compositions, whether symbolical or dramatic, that adorned the walls, tribunes and cupolas, remained as late as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the exclusive monopoly of Byzantium.[1] In Sculpture too, a similar precedence was conceded by the West to the heirs of Phidias and Praxiteles; bronze doors were repeatedly cast at Constantinople for the cathedrals of Italy, and her ivory carvings were as frequently sought for to adorn the binding of missals and breviaries for Kings and Emperors. But, partly from the expense attendant on importation, and partly from the Lombards being well disposed to supply the public demand by sculpture, such as it was, of their own, few specimens comparatively of that of Byzantium are now to be met with.

I noticed in a former page the remarkably different principles which guided Rome and Greece in their election from the materials of Christian Art—the former preferring the *via media* of Typical Parallelism, trodden of old by the prophets of the elder Testament, the latter the extremes of absolute symbolism and direct dramatic representation, suggested by the Gospels and the Apocalypse. I have elsewhere, too, furnished you with a vocabulary (as it were) of symbols, the hieroglyphical language of the early Christian world,—its universality induced me thus to anticipate mention of it, but I cannot doubt that the Greeks contributed more than any other people to its creation, while they unquestionably clung to it with almost parental fidelity and love, and to the comparative neglect of their dramatic resources, for many centuries.

[1] See Mr. Hope's 'Historical Essay,' p. 152.

This might arise partly from a laudable dread of transgressing the second commandment; it was at least fortunate for art that the council held at Constantinople in 692 positively enjoined its disuse and the substitution of direct representation.[1] After that period, Symbolism, still the acknowledged queen of Architecture, took the place of a handmaid below the thrones of Sculpture and Painting, which she had so long usurped,—to raise her voice henceforward at intervals only, and as an accompaniment to the more sustained and legitimate song of her sister rivals.

The Greek artists were not unprepared for this interference on the part of the Church,—it may even have been the knowledge of that preparation which suggested it. Compositions of a high order, illustrative of the Christian history and doctrine, already existed, and there could be little doubt that the summons would waken up and elicit whatever genius and enthusiasm yet survived in Greece. Accordingly we find, within a century after the Council in question, a cycle of compositions, distinct and well defined, seldom or never deviated from, and stamped (as it were) with the seal of the Greek Church, current everywhere throughout its bounds,—a series of extreme beauty, feeling and simplicity, and susceptible, in almost each individual instance, of a refinement and perfection which must have beamed before the mind's eye of the original composer, although the debased mechanical skill of the age debarred him from realising the vision. Of these compositions I must now attempt to give you a precise idea, since, after exercising the apprenticeship and maturer powers of Niccola Pisano, Cimabue and Giotto, they were finally reissued by those masters, more or less modified and

[1] The special object of the decree is the substitution of the human figure of Our Saviour for the symbolical lamb; but the edification of the people by the contemplation of the obedience and death of Christ, represented to the life by painting, is the principle broadly laid down, and it is clear, as MM. Raoul-Rochette, and Didron observe, that the Council wished to effect an entire substitution of history for symbolism. M. Raoul-Rochette, I may add, considers the introduction of the Crucifix in lieu of the Cross, of martyrdoms instead of the older scenes of Christian hope and joyfulness, of the idea of death, in short, instead of life, as signs and tokens of a gradual saddening of the soul of Christendom, deepening and darkening through the whole course of the middle ages. *Discours*, etc., pp. 58, 59. *Icon. de Dieu*, p. 339. Admitting the fact (strictly analogous, indeed, to the similar saddening of the Individual man during his march through life), we may read in it the gradual prevalence of the Subjective, or Teutonic, over the Objective, or Classic element of Europe.

improved, and were constantly reiterated in the following centuries, till each and all of them had taken their places finally and for ever amidst the productions of the golden age of art, as perfected by the genius of the Peruginos, Raphaels and Michael Angelos, to whom the merit, not merely of execution, but of their original invention, is usually but erroneously attributed.[1] A volume might be written on this subject, and illustrations of it will occur, incidentally, in almost every page of these 'Sketches,' but a brief enumeration of such as appear to belong to the class of Traditional Compositions will suffice for the present. They may be divided (as it appears to me) into two Classes,

I. PERSONAL—that is to say, representations of the 'Dramatis Personae' of Christianity, Divine and Human, in contemplation and repose:—And,

II. HISTORICAL, or Dramatic—scenes from the Sacred History of the world, as recorded in the books of Holy Scripture or by tradition.

We will review each series in order.

I. PERSONAL.

1. The Holy Trinity in Unity.—The Ancient of Days, in the form of an aged man, wearing a crown or tiara, seated on the clouds of heaven, holds forth, as the sign of salvation to mankind, the Son of Man, nailed to the Cross, which He (the Father) sustains by the two transverse arms. The Holy Ghost, in the form of a Dove, hovers on the wing between them, as proceeding from the Father.[2] The outlines of the Saviour frequently fall within those of the Father, probably to denote the Unity of the Godhead. This is one of the later compositions of the Byzantine cycle, but, once introduced,

[1] I am happy to find myself anticipated in this statement, and confirmed in the view I have taken of Byzantine art, by Flaxman, who enumerates the "Greek Christian compositions" of "the Creation of Adam and Eve, the Nativity, the Transfiguration, Crucifixion, Resurrection, Glorification, and the Last Judgment, with some others," "as having been standards to the Italian painters, from which they scarcely ventured to deviate for ages," and "which amply prove that the sacred flame remained in Greece, which kindled light and life in the modern arts of Western Europe."—*Lectures*, p. 146. And see thereafter, pp. 242, *sqq.*

[2] From the Father only, according to the dogma of the Greek Church. Hence a slight occasional difference in the versions of this composition by the Latin Church.

it was constantly reiterated, and adopted with but little variation both South and North of the Alps. The sublimity of conception is undeniable, and I should be loath to impute irreverence to Christians for attempting to render visible to the eye the forms dimly suggested to the ear by the mysterious imagery of the prophets,—nevertheless this is a theme too awful for art to touch upon, and the earlier artists showed a wise humility in abstaining from the representation of the Father except, symbolically, by a hand from heaven, or dramatically, in the person of his Image and Word, the Son, Jesus Christ.[1]

11. The Head of Our Saviour.—In the primitive ages of the Church, as I before remarked, the Saviour was represented, not personally, but as the Genius of Christianity—a youthful form and figure, without any special likeness. The traditional head with which Europe is now so familiar, was unknown in the West till the fourth century, when the original was sent to Constantia, sister of the Emperor Constantine, by Eusebius,

[1] The first personal representation of God the Father occurs in the ninth century, according to M. Raoul-Rochette, *Discours*, etc., p. 7,—but not till the twelfth, according to M. Didron, *Icon. de Dieu*, p. 207.[1] "Il faut le dire enfin," observes the latter antiquary, with equal truth and force, that "les premiers Chrétiens jusqu'aux cinquième et sixième siècles furent assez mal disposés pour les images en général ; tous étaient iconoclastes, ceux-ci un peu plus, et ceux-là un peu moins. On sortait du paganisme." *Ibid.*, p. 204. This surely (with submission) accounts sufficiently for the few direct representations met with of the First Person of the Trinity during the early and the middle ages, —relieving us from the necessity of supposing, with M. Didron, a Gnostic aversion for Him, perpetually latent in the heart of Catholic Christendom, and revealing itself either in neglect or studied disrespect. See the *Icon. de Dieu*, pp. 193, *sqq.*

The composition described in the text may be seen, magnificently amplified, in the Casa di Misericordia at Pisa (*Rosini, Storia della Pittura Italiana*, tav. 10),—in altarpieces by Orcagna, Luca Signorelli, and Albertinelli (the latter, one of the artist's best pictures), in the gallery of the Academy at Florence,—in one, also, by Moretto, in the first chapel to the left, of S. Giovanni, at Brescia, painted with much feeling. It is also introduced by Andrea del Sarto, but twisted and distorted out of all dignity, in the upper part of his Dispute concerning the Trinity, in the Pitti Palace. It became popular, too, North of the Alps, and is the subject of two of the most beautiful pictures of the Upper German school—one, by Christopher Amberger, in his pure German style, in the Pinacothek at Munich—the other, by Albert Dürer, a picture of extraordinary merit, in the Belvidere at Vienna. Finally, there is a variation of this subject, by Rubens, in the Museum at Antwerp, ineffably coarse, vulgar, and disgusting. These examples will illustrate the far-spread circulation of these traditional compositions of Byzantium. And the composition in question is by no means so frequently met with as some others, not yet mentioned.

[1] Unless indeed, as before conjectured, the gigantic figure to whom Abel and Cain offer sacrifice on the tombs of the Catacombs be intended for the Almighty.

bishop of Caesarea, to whom she had written her request to that effect.[1] It is therefore indisputably to the Greek Church that we owe that most expressive type, which, if not the actual likeness of the Redeemer, comes nearer our dreams of what that likeness may have been—nearer the ideal of Incarnate Deity—than Christian humility could have hoped to soar. Were this head of Christ the solitary tradition bequeathed to us by Byzantium, she would have the highest of all claims on our reverence and gratitude.[2] Its earliest appearance is in a mosaic, said to be of the fourth century, found originally in the cemetery of S. Callisto at Rome, and now preserved in the Museum Christianum of the Vatican. It was repeated in 441, attended, to the right and left, by the symbols of the Evangelists, and the elders offering their crowns, on the triumphal arch of S. Paolo fuori le mura, now destroyed—was reiterated, two years later, on that of S. Maria Maggiore, still existing—

[1] The reply of Eusebius is given in Labbe's collection of the Councils, tom. vii. col. 493, *sqq.* From this transaction, observes M. Raoul-Rochette, it appears that these images were still rare, and that the use of them was not condemned by the Church.—*Discours*, etc., p. 12.

[2] According to MM. Raoul-Rochette and Didron (*Discours*, etc., p. 15; *Icon. de Dieu*, p. 248), the head of Our Saviour is derived from the Gnostics,—but even if such were the case, those Gnostics were probably Greeks, like Leucius, the father of the Christian mythology, and it was certainly the Greek Church which selected, from the various likenesses current, the one that through her influence became traditional—whether the genuine likeness or not. This is repeatedly acknowledged by M. Raoul-Rochette. On the other hand, the ancient Fathers and historians of the Church, in alluding to ancient portraits of Our Saviour and the Apostles, do not throw the discredit of heresy upon them. See, for instance, the interesting passage of Eusebius, *Eccles. History*, lib. vii. cap. 18.

This early Byzantine type has evidently suggested the beautiful description of Our Saviour's personal appearance and demeanour in the spurious epistle from the Proconsul Publius Lentulus to the Roman Senate:—"There appeared in these our days a man of great virtue, named Jesus Christ, who is yet living amongst us, and of the Gentiles is accepted for a Prophet of truth, but his own disciples call him the Son of God. He raiseth the dead, and cureth all manner of diseases. A man of stature somewhat tall and comely, with a very reverend countenance, such as the beholders may both love and fear; his hair, the colour of a filbert full ripe, to his ears, whence downwards it is more orient of colour, somewhat curling or waving about his shoulders; in the midst of his head is a seam, or partition of his hair, after the manner of the Nazarites; his forehead plain and delicate; his face without spot or wrinkle, beautified with a comely red; his nose and mouth exactly formed; his beard thick, the colour of his hair, not of any great length, but forked; his look innocent; his eyes grey, clear and quick; in reproving, awful; in admonishing, courteous; in speaking, very modest and wise; in proportion of body, well shaped. None have ever seen him laugh, but many have seen him weep. A man, for his beauty, surpassing the children of men."—Quoted in Clarke's *Travels*, tom. iv. p. 177, edit. 8vo.

and repeated constantly afterwards, in the same situation—a half-length, that is to say, within a wreath, and generally in the act of blessing with the right hand, and holding the cross or the globe in the left—in the basilicas successively built at Rome and elsewhere in Italy.[1] From these it was introduced into larger historical compositions, first by the Byzantines and afterwards by the Italians, Flemings and Germans, whose efforts to animate its perfect outlines with the Divine expression have been but approximations to an unattainable perfection.[2]

III. The Blessed Virgin Mary.—Her likeness was unknown to the Latin Church in the time of Augustine,[3] nor does any distinct type of countenance appear to have been assigned to her, even in the East, previous to the twelfth century, although the mode of representing her, with the child on her knees, was fixed by the Council of Ephesus in 431.[4] The type, as current in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is august and grand, especially in mosaic; in painting, a new fashion came in about that time, of representing her complexion of the deepest brown and even black—in allusion to the passage in Canticles, "I am black but comely, O ye daughters of Jerusalem, as the tents of Kedar, as the curtains of Solomon." These paintings being generally esteemed miraculous and ascribed to S. Luke, the probability is, that this was the name of the artist who introduced the innovation.[5] Most of the Italian painters subsequent to Giotto abandoned the Greek

[1] That executed, in 641, in the little chapel of S. Venanzio, attached to the Baptistery of Constantine, is one of the most beautiful and impressive. Engravings of this, and of all the mosaics at Rome and Ravenna, hereafter mentioned, till the ninth century inclusive, may be found in the 'Vetera Monimenta' of Ciampini.

[2] The original half-figure, in the act of calm benediction, as handed down by the Byzantines, and still perpetuated in the East, seems to have been less popular in Italy (where Ecce Homos, or heads of Christ wearing the crown of thorns, were more in demand) than North of the Alps. The Venetian Bellini, whether inspired by the example of Flanders or by the common source, the ancient mosaics —or sharing, probably, in the sympathy ever felt by Venice for Byzantium —was the first to reclaim the original subject to Italian art.

[3] That is to say, as in the case of the portraits of Our Saviour, her genuine likeness.—*S. August. de Trinitate*, lib. viii. cap. 8; tom. iii. col. 870. Cited by M. Raoul-Rochette, *Discours*, etc., p. 31.

[4] With the view of opposing the heresy of Nestorius. See Raoul-Rochette, *Discours*, etc., p. 34.

[5] Respecting the legendary ascription to S. Luke see M. Raoul-Rochette's *Discours*, p. 37. This gentleman, in remarking upon the veneration for these images entertained by the common people, makes the following striking observations:—"Il y a donc là quelque chose qui rappelle le culte que la Grèce idolâtre rendoit à ces antiques simulacres de la Diane d'Ephèse, de la *Junon* de *Samos*, de la *Fortune d'Ery-*

type, and attempted, with more or less success, to form an ideal of their own.

IV. The Heads of S. Peter and S. Paul.—S. Peter was generally represented blessing, S. Paul preaching,—the former with white hair and beard, the hair sometimes plaited in three distinct partitions; the latter with a lofty and partially bald brow, and long high nose,—as characteristic of the man of genius and the thorough gentleman, as the former is of the warm-hearted, frank, impetuous, manly fisherman. The like-

thres, dont le type, produit dans une école antérieure à Dédale, ou dérivé de l'Orient, ou tombé du ciel, type informe et dépourvu de tout mérite, de toute intention imitative, recueilloit, au sein de la nation la plus éclairée de l'univers, plus d'hommages et de respects que n'en inspirèrent jamais les chefs-d'œuvre de Phidias et de Polyclète.[1] Mais il y a encore dans ce groupe de la Vierge et de l'Enfant, tel que l'avoit d'abord conçu l'Eglise assemblée, au Concile d'Ephèse, et que le produisit depuis l'école du prétendu Saint Luc, cet autre Dédale du moyen âge, une analogie sensible avec le groupe Egyptien d'*Isis* allaitant *Horus*, qui offrit, dans l'antique pays des Pharaons, une image à peu près semblable."[2] *Ibid.*, p. 38.—And, in accordance with this writer's opinion of the gradual saddening of Christendom—(which I can only assent to, either in restricting it, for many ages at least, to the advancing age and waning energies of the elder, Sanscrit or Classic principle—or in qualifying it as the deeper, more serious and subjective spirit, mingling from the first with the youthful buoyancy of the Teutonic race)—he adds most interestingly, "C'est sous ce rapport qu'il devient intéressant d'observer comment, à mesure que le Christianisme s'engage dans les ténèbres du moyen âge, la figure céleste de Marie se couvre par degrés des mêmes ombres qui obscurcissoient la société tout entière; comment ce visage, qui sourioit aux premières carresses de l'Enfant-Dieu, pour ainsi dire comme aux premières espérances du genre humain, prend une physiognomie de plus en plus triste et sévère, qui ne répond que trop fidèlement au génie de ces temps barbares. La tête se penche, avec l'expression d'une douleur sombre et morne, qui reçoit un caractère plus sinistre encore de la *couleur noire* par laquelle les artistes de cet âge croyoient exprimer une tradition biblique, concernant le *teint* de Marie; et c'est dans cette attitude, avec le *teint noir*, et avec le *voile*, qui descend jusque sur ses yeux, où s'est éteint le sentiment même de la maternité, que la *Vierge* et son enfant, pareillement privé de mouvement et de la vie, et comme garotté dans les langes qui l'enveloppent, se sont vus en quelque sorte immobilisés par l'art Byzantin, jusqu'au siècle de Cimabue, où le génie des temps modernes a commencé à tirer de ce type inerte tous les élémens de vie et de beauté morale que la religion y avoit placés."—*Discours*, etc., p. 34.

[1] "Une analogie plus positive encore se montre dans ces statuettes de la Vierge, *en bois de cèdre*, telles que la Madonne de Lorette, celle du Puy en Velai, celle d'Insiedlen en Suisse, et d'autres encore, qui ressemblent presque de tout point à la Diane d'Ephèse, par la matière, par le style, et par les circonstances mêmes de la légende qui les concerne."—*Ibid.*

[2] A similar resemblance might be pointed out in the Hindoo paintings of Crishna nursed by his mother Devaki,—see Moor's 'Hindoo Pantheon,' plate 59. The key to these analogies is to be found in the primitive dogma, so deeply rooted in the heart and mind of man, of a male and a female principle, a God and a Goddess, answering to the Sun and the Moon of the physical world—common, both in religion and philosophy, to every branch of the descendants of Noah, but clung to by the Sanscrit much more tenaciously than by the Zendish or Medo-Persian branch of the descendants of Japhet.

nesses may be correct,—they were current, at least, in the days of Eusebius.[1] They were to be seen till lately, in mosaic, executed in 443, at S. Paolo fuori le mura. Two similar heads, along with that of Our Saviour, beardless, executed in 449, still exist in the chapel of the Archiepiscopal palace at Ravenna, and they recur constantly in the more recent basilicas. While Giotto's influence lasted in Italy, these traditional types were invariably adhered to, but Masaccio set the example of painting one of his friends as S. Peter, and from that moment there has been no security against ploughmen and gondoliers figuring as inspired Apostles. The Umbrian School, as we shall find hereafter, maintained in this, as in other respects, a continual protest against innovation.

v. Christ in Glory.—He is usually seated on a vast globe, to signify the universe,[2] or on the rainbow, and in the attitude of blessing.[3] Angels and Saints stand to the right and left, the latter generally separated by pillars or palm-trees. This was a very favourite composition for the tribunes of churches from the sixth century downwards, but after the close of the eighth, the Virgin, enthroned, with the child in her arms, was frequently substituted for the mature figure of our Saviour, the attendants remaining the same; this may be seen in the absides of S. Maria in Dominica (of A.D. 815), S.

[1] *Hist. Eccles.*, lib. vii. cap. 18.—He speaks of their portraits as of some antiquity. We know too that a portrait of S. Paul, said to have come down by tradition from his own time, existed in the days of S. Ambrose, and S. Chrysostom had one which he always kept in his cell, to gaze upon when lifting his eyes from the epistles of the Apostle.—Raoul-Rochette, *Discours*, etc., p. 42. These types, also, are supposed—I might say, in this instance, proved by M. Raoul-Rochette to be of Gnostic origin, *Ibid.* p. 45. Little images of Pythagoras, S. Paul, Our Saviour, Homer, etc., were set up by Marcellina, a follower of Carpocrates, in her church at Rome, and the constant use of such by the Gnostics explains the fact recorded of Alexander Severus, that he adored the images of Orpheus, Apollonius Tyaneus, Abraham and Christ, in his private *Lararium* or oratory. M. Raoul-Rochette supposes that the Christian laity adopted the use of these images gradually and by degrees, as the Church relaxed in her ancient aversion to the monuments of idolatry, exactly as we have elsewhere concluded (under the authority of Beausobre) respecting the legendary history of the Virgin, the Apostles, etc. The types, undecided under the Gnostics, seem to have been ultimately selected and fixed by the authority of the Greek Church.—*Discours*, etc., pp. 16, *sqq.* See also Didron, *Iconographie de Dieu*, p. 249.

[2] Eternity is represented so seated on the ancient medals.

[3] Of course in Greek paintings, in the Greek fashion, as explained in the Table of Symbols, among my preliminary Memoranda.

Cecilia (of 820), S. Maria Nuova (of 848), and in the beautiful mosaic on the façade of S. Maria in Trastevere, of the twelfth century, representing the Virgin suckling the child, attended by the five wise and five foolish virgins. Hence originated that innumerable multitude of pictures, Greek and Italian, especially of the Giottesque, Sienese, Umbrian and early Venetian schools, representing the Virgin and child, attended by Saints, each Saint originally parted from his neighbour by a compartment or by a palm-tree, and, long after these compartments had been done away, perpetuating their remembrance by their erect posture, like sentinels, on either side of the central object of adoration. Gradually, however, and especially by the Umbrian school of Perugino, stiffness was softened into ease, the figures were brought into closer and more intimate relation, the composition enlivened and improved without loss of symmetry—landscapes were introduced in lieu of glaring gold back-grounds—and thus some of the most exquisite pictures of Raphael, Fra Bartolommeo, Bellini, etc. may be considered as the legitimate development of the early Byzantine composition of the sixth century.

VI. and lastly, Angels and Devils, the spiritual friends and foes of man.—The former, evidently imitated from the winged genii, or victories, of the ancients, mingle in the Byzantine compositions from the first, in the exact proportion in which they are described in the Bible as mingling in every incident of human weal or woe—whether rejoicing with God over his new creation, or attendant on the ministry of Christ and the pilgrimage of his servants, or receiving the souls of the expiring faithful, defending them against the attacks of evil spirits, and conveying them to repose in "Abraham's bosom," or Paradise. This ministry of angels is peculiar to Byzantium, seldom or never occurring in early Latin Art. In later times, the nine orders of the heavenly hierarchy were duly discriminated according to the visions of Dionysius Areopagita, and were sometimes represented in compartments encircling the central figure of our Saviour. Devils, on the other hand, and their chieftain, Satan, were generally represented in the human form, winged, and only differing from angels in being black. The triple-headed, bat-winged, horned and hoofed monster of the later middle ages is rather a resuscitation of the heathen Pan, with the attributes of Cerberus and Nox, than the legitimate offspring of Byzantium, or Christianity.

II. Historical.

1. The Genesis.—A series of six compositions, illustrative of the origin of that evil which the Saviour came to remedy, became traditional at a very early period, and are constantly met with either apart or together. They represent, 1. *The Creation of Adam:* 2. *The Creation of Eve*—drawn by the Almighty out of the side of Adam, while asleep.[1] This appears on a Greek diptych as early as the fourth century.[2] The idea was perfected by Michael Angelo on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel: 3. *The Fall*—nearly the same as the Latin composition. This too may be said to have been perfected by Michael Angelo in the Sistine Chapel. It was adopted even by the Mahometans, who represent Adam and Eve, in Oriental dresses, standing on either side of the tree of life, from the foot of which flows a fountain, emblematical (though not to their apprehension) of the Gospel of Christ:[3] 4. *Adam delving and Eve spinning:* 5. *The Sacrifices of Cain and Abel, and the murder of the latter.* The brothers stand usually, face to face, on opposite sides of the same altar, the one holding up a lamb, the other a sheaf of corn,—the hand of God from heaven sending down fire on the lamb: 6. *The death of Cain*—by the hand of his descendant, Lamech, according to the ancient tradition. These compositions may be seen in consecutive order in the mosaics of the porch at S. Mark's, Venice, in the Duomo of Monreale, near Palermo, and elsewhere, and they were adopted and constantly reiterated on the facades of their cathedrals and churches by the Lombard sculptors, and in their frescoes by the Italian painters of the fourteenth and following century.[4]

11. The Nativity of the Virgin—and that of S. John the Baptist, are sometimes represented by the same composition. The mother reclines on a couch, generally in an open court,

[1] Figurative, in allegorical interpretation, of the birth of the Church from the wounded side of Our Saviour, thereafter to be espoused to him, and to become "the mother of all living." In the older representations of this subject Eve is seen rising out of Adam's side, in obedience to the hand of God, stretched out from heaven.

[2] Agincourt, *Sculpture*, pl. 12.

[3] See a print, after a Persian painting, in Mouradja d'Ohsson's 'Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman,' tom. i. pl. 1, p. 67, edit. folio.

[4] Of the Patriarchal history there are no traditional compositions. It was frequently repeated (as at S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, at S. Mark's of Venice, at Monreale, etc.), as typical of the Christian pilgrimage, but the composition was always left to the genius and discretion of the artis

and is attended by females who either offer her water to wash her hands, or plates containing eggs;[1] another maid, in the corner, washes the child. This composition occurs as the birth of the Precursor, in the Menologion, an illuminated manuscript, of the tenth century, to be described in the following section.

III. The Annunciation.—In the oldest existing representation of the Annunciation, that on the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore, at Rome, the Virgin is represented seated, attended by angels to the right and left, and addressed by Gabriel, who floats in the air, above her. But this did not become traditional. In later works, since the tenth century, both Gabriel and Mary are represented standing, the angel extending his hand towards Mary, in the delivery of his message, the latter raising her hand in astonishment and meek acquiescence. This composition is less strictly adhered to than usual by the early Italian artists, who usually represent them both kneeling.

IV. The Nativity.—The Virgin reclines on her couch, in front of the cave, and beside the manger in which the new-born Saviour is laid; the heads of the ox and ass appear behind it; the star rests over the spot, and sheds (as Tasso would express it) a "pennello di lume" on the infant; S. Joseph, leaning his head on his arm, and averting his face, sits moodily apart; two damsels[2] wash the child, who is thus twice represented in the same composition; angels hover above, either looking down in adoration, or singing the "Gloria in excelsis,"—another in the background announces the good tidings to the shepherds. Sometimes the three Kings are seen approaching on the opposite side. This composition, unquestionably inferior in unity and beauty to most of the cycle, appears in the Menologion and repeatedly afterwards. Giotto considerably modified it, and later masters still more

[1] The meeting of Joachim and Anna is often repeated, and necessarily with much resemblance, yet I do not think it can be fairly ranked as one of the traditional series. And I should say the same of the Salutation, which usually follows the Annunciation.—Of the intermediate Dedication of the Virgin (her ascent of the steps of the temple when a child), there certainly existed a traditional representation, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, but it is very rare and of inferior merit, and was never, that I am aware of, copied by Italian artists. It may be seen in the Menologion, and in a Diptych, of the beginning of the eleventh century, engraved in Gori's *Thesaurus Vett. Diptychorum*, tom. iii. pl. 37.

[2] Probably the midwife and Salome, according to the 'Protevangelion.'

so, but traces of the Byzantine original are always discernible, —the ox and ass, for instance, are never omitted, and the Annunciation to the Shepherds is generally seen in the background. In the early German pictures (variations from the same original source), the infant Saviour is generally surrounded by a group of little angels, who offer him flowers or play with him.

v. The Flight into Egypt.—The Virgin and Child on the ass, an angel leading it by the bridle, Joseph following. Sometimes, though rarely, they are passing under the date-tree, which is said to have bent down spontaneously to afford them food in the wilderness. Not perhaps so rigidly traditional as some of the others. No angel occurs in the representation of this subject in the Menologion; still the idea, at least, of angelic guidance may be assumed as Byzantine. A subject in which green old age, female youth and beauty, infant innocence and heavenly purity are so exquisitely contrasted, could scarcely fail to inspire originality of treatment.

vi. The Baptism of Our Saviour.—The Saviour stands immersed to the middle in the Jordan, flowing between two deep and rocky banks, on one of which stands S. John, pouring the water on his head, and on the other two angels hold his robes. The Holy Spirit descends upon him as a dove, in a stream of light, from God the Father, usually represented by a hand from heaven. Two of John's disciples stand behind him as spectators. Frequently the river-god of Jordan reclines with his urn in the corner. The original, probably, of this composition may be seen in a mosaic occupying the centre of the cupola of S. Giovanni in Fonte, the Baptistery at Ravenna, a work of the middle of the fifth century. The only difference is, that the robe is supported, not by an angel but by the river deity, "Jordann," who holds in his left hand a reed as his sceptre.[1] This composition has been constantly repeated, with scarcely any alteration, and often with the utmost beauty, by the whole series of Italian painters, down to the Carracci.

vii. The Transfiguration.—The Saviour, within a vesica piscis, is elevated in the air between Moses and Elias, who

[1] In a mosaic, about a century later, in S. Maria in Cosmedin, the Arian Baptistery, also at Ravenna, the river-god is repeated in a sitting posture, but without the robe, holding a reed in his right hand, and lifting up the left in astonishment, with two crabs' claws on his head, white hair, and naked to the waist, like the heathen statues of Jupiter.

stand on distinct rocks, or peaks of the mountain; the three Apostles below kneel and hide their faces. The glory of Our Saviour darts in rays, like the spokes of a wheel, beyond the vesica piscis. This composition already existed in the time of Justinian, and may be seen, filling the shell of the tribune, in the church built by him at Mount Sinai.[1] Giotto transmitted it to his successors without the slighest alteration, and it was finally perfected by Raphael in his *chef-d'œuvre*, now in the Vatican.

VIII. The Agony in the Garden.—The Saviour kneeling in prayer and receiving the cup of suffering from an angel. Not of very frequent occurrence. It was adopted by Giotto, constantly reiterated by his successors, and perfected, perhaps, by Perugino, in his exquisite picture in the Academy, at Florence.

IX. The Crucifixion.—The simplest and oldest form of this most deeply affecting of all compositions, represents Our Saviour on the cross, the feet pierced with two nails, according to the usage of Roman crucifixion,[2] and resting on a *suppeditaneum*, or wooden support, with the Virgin and S. John (only) attendant to the right and left. Sometimes two angels, sometimes the disk of the sun and crescent of the moon, eclipsed during the Passion, hover above the arms of the cross. A skull—that of Adam, according to the tradition that the tree of the cross was planted on his grave—is frequently represented at its foot. Sometimes Calpurnius, offering the sponge, and Longinus the Centurion, piercing the side of Our Saviour with the spear, are introduced on either side, between the Virgin and S. John. Latterly both thieves, on their crosses, were added, in which case two distinct groups were represented, of the Virgin fainting, supported by the Maries, on one side, of S. John and the Apostles, sometimes exchanged for the soldiers dicing for the seamless garment, on the other. In these more copious compositions the sky is often filled with angels, some receiving the blood in chalices from the hands and side of Our Saviour, others wringing their hands and wiping their eyes. Towards the thirteenth

[1] It is engraved in Count Léon de Laborde's noble work, the 'Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée.'

[2] "Ego dabo ei talentum, primus qui in crucem excucurrerit.
Sed eâ lege ut offigantur bis pedes, bis brachia."

Plaût. Mostellaria, ii. 1, 12.—Quoted by Jeremy Taylor, *Life of Christ*.

century Our Saviour was represented attenuated and emaciated in a most painful manner, every rib distinct, in order to represent his presumed austerities, and in accordance with *Psalm* xxii. 17; sometimes the features were even studiously disfigured and debased, in accordance with the opinion—of great antiquity, but based, not on tradition, but on mere textual misconception, and ever strenuously opposed, more especially by the Latin church—that the Saviour was mean and abject in personal appearance. But this never obtained general acceptance, even in Byzantine art.[1] The waistband of Our Saviour has also a conventional arrangement in Greek paintings of the Crucifixion,—falling in broad folds, like an apron.

X. The Deposition.—Our Saviour taken down from the cross by Joseph and Nathaniel, one of whom loosens the nails, the other receives and lowers the body; the Virgin presses the arm to her cheek and heart. S. John is also present, but merely standing by. An exquisite composition, at least as old as the tenth century,[2] and traceable, more or less modified, through the whole gallery of art.

XI. The Pietà.—There are three compositions which indifferently bear this name in Italy, all of Byzantine origin:—
1. *The Lament over our Saviour's body*,—the corpse is laid on the ground preparatory to interment; the Virgin, throwing her arm round it, presses the cold cheek with her own; S. John kisses the hand, Mary Magdalen the feet,—the other mourners attend around, and angels hover weeping in the air.[3] Sometimes, with the slightest possible change, this composition serves for the Burial of Our Lord, and is thus, perhaps, mentioned (among other Christian compositions) by Pope

[1] M. Didron considers the absence or presence of the beard in portraits of Our Saviour, as a key to the opinion of the respective artists in this matter, the bearded Saviour being expressive of the suffering or human character, the beardless, as represented in the tombs of the Catacombs and by the Byzantines, of the triumphant or divine.—*Icon. de Dieu*, p. 281. The earliest appearance of the Crucifix is fixed by M. Raoul-Rochette at the close of the seventh century, almost simultaneously with the Council of Constantinople. "C'était de la Grèce qu'étoient apportés à Rome, vers la fin du septième siècle, en petits tableaux portatifs, pareils aux diptyques d'ivoire ecclésiastiques, qui eurent cours dans le siècle suivant, les premiers crucifix peints que nous connoissions par l'histoire littéraire de cet âge."—*Discours*, etc., p. 60.

[2] *Thes. Vett. Diptych.*, tom. iii. pl. 12, 39, etc.

[3] The Pietà of Perugino, in the Pitti Palace, although much modified, may be considered the perfection of this beautiful composition.

Gregory II., in his letter of remonstrance to the Emperor Leo the Iconoclast, c. 712.[1] And it frequently occurs, in a modified form, in the funerals of Saints. 2. *The Virgin holding the Dead Body of our Saviour on her knees*,—and looking into the face of the spectator, as if saying, "Was ever sorrow like unto my sorrow?"[2] 3. *Christ seated, or standing, half out of the tomb*,—naked, blood dropping from the side, the arms sometimes folded on his breast, sometimes extended so as to exhibit the open wounds—but dead, with the eyes closed. Not common, but certainly traditional, and multiplied *ad infinitum* after its introduction into the West. The early Italians and Germans sometimes filled the background in a singular manner with hieroglyphics (as it were) of the Passion—the purse of Judas, the cock of S. Peter, a hand and knife cutting off an ear, a hand pouring water from a vase on two hands washing themselves—together with the more usual symbols, the crown of thorns, the nails, the scourge, etc. etc.

XII. The Descent into Hell.—Our Saviour holding the cross, or the banner of the cross, and treading on the fractured gate of Hades, beneath which the Devil lies crushed—takes Adam by the hand to lead him to Paradise, and is followed by Eve and the Patriarchs. As old at least as the eleventh century.[3]

XIII. The Resurrection.—An open tomb, the guards, three usually in number, sleeping beneath it, angels seated upon it who say to the women of Galilee, a group in the opposite corner, "He is not here, but is risen!" Mentioned by Pope Gregory II. in his letter to the Emperor Leo, c. 712.

XIV. The "Noli me tangere."—Our Saviour holding a gardener's spade, and turning away,—Mary Magdalen kneeling and embracing his feet. One of the latest of the Byzantine compositions. Sometimes joined with the Descent into Limbo.

XV. The Ascension.—The Saviour is represented rising to heaven in the act of blessing, and within a vesica piscis, supported by angels; an angel, on either side, flying in the air, offers him a crown; the sun and moon look down from the two corners above, and below, facing the spectator, stands the Virgin in front, with her hands raised in prayer, the Apostles to the right and left looking up, while two angels,

[1] *Vide supra*, p. 230. [2] See, for instance, Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 89.
[3] *Thesaurus Vett. Diptych.*, tom. iii. pl. 37.

one on each side of the Virgin, point to Our Saviour, saying, "This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven." A composition as old as the sixth century.[1] At a later period it was transformed by the Italians into the Assumption of the Virgin, by substituting her figure for that of Our Saviour.

XVI. The Descent of the Holy Spirit.—The twelve Apostles seated in a circle, the fiery tongues descending on them from heaven. The Virgin is sometimes added to the number. As old, at least, as the ninth and tenth centuries, and probably the composition mentioned by Pope Gregory in his letter to the Emperor Leo.

XVII. The Death of the Virgin.—She has just expired; the Apostles stand around, and in the centre, beyond the bed, Our Saviour appears in a vesica piscis, holding her soul in his arms in the shape of a new-born child. A composition of great antiquity and exquisite beauty.

XVIII. The Coronation of the Virgin,—in the character of the Church. Christ and the Virgin are seated on a throne in heaven; the Virgin bends forward, her arms crossed on her breast,—and Our Saviour places the crown on her head. Of comparatively modern date.[2]

XIX. The Last Judgment.—The Saviour, in glory, within the vesica piscis, and seated on the rainbow—attended, to the right and left, by the Apostles, six and six, headed by the Virgin and S. John the Baptist—holds forth his hands, the palm towards the faithful, the back towards the reprobate. Angels at his feet blow the trumpets, and at the bottom of the composition the graves give up their dead; S. Michael parts the good from the bad; the former are received into Paradise, represented by Abraham, with children in his lap, or "bosom"—the latter into Hell, formed by a river of fire, descending from the throne of Christ, and expanding into Tartarus, where Satan, swart and of gigantic stature, grasps and crunches them with his teeth. This magnificent composition, of which I have described the mere outline only, and

[1] See the description of a Syriac MS. of the Gospels, in the following section.

[2] The Vision of S. John, in the Apocalypse, chap. iv., is sometimes represented by the Byzantines, but hardly with sufficient uniformity to warrant its insertion among the traditional compositions. The subject occurs more frequently in German than Italian art.

which existed at least as early as the ninth century, was adopted by the Lombard sculptors, who constantly reiterated it on the façades of cathedrals,—and by the whole series of early Italian and German painters. Even in Michael Angelo's Last Judgment, changed as the feeling is, *in toto*, from repose to action, the grand masses and general arrangement remain the same. The upper portion of the composition was frequently adopted in paintings representing the Court of Heaven, in Italy termed *Glorias*, and Raphael has followed it very closely in the Dispute of the Sacrament.

To the above list may be added the following isolated compositions, much less universal, but strictly traditional :—

1. *The Delivery of the Law on Mount Sinai, and the Wanderings of the Israelites.*—A composition, in which the Nile, the pyramids, the land of Goshen, and the whole of the Sinaite promontory are delineated as on a map, with the two peaks of Mount Sinai and Mount S. Catherine towering in the centre, Moses receiving the Law on one, angels burying the body of S. Catherine on the other,—the monastery of Justinian appearing at their foot. The history of the Israelites, from the drowning of Pharaoh in the Red Sea throughout their pilgrimage, is represented in distinct groups, scattered through this spacious field.[1]

2. *S. Simeon Stylites*,—on the top of his column—S. Alypius, and others, his successors in this elevated strain of piety.

3. *The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus*, within their cave.

4. *Queen Helen and the Emperor Constantine, supporting the Cross between them, or standing below it.* Originally, I believe, engraved on reliquaries containing a portion of the true Cross.[2]

5. The general distribution of the *Funeral Service* over a Saint's dead body.[3]

6. *S. Michael and the Devil contending for a human soul*—the former holding a balance in which the soul, in the likeness

[1] This composition is at least as old as the thirteenth century, if the date assigned to a representation in Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 91, be correct. At the present day a large Russian engraving of it is presented to every pilgrim who quits the monastery.

[2] See the *Thesaurus Vett. Diptych.*, tom. iii. p. 140.

[3] This may be seen in a curious picture of S. Ephraim, noticed in the fourth section of this letter. It constantly reappears in Italian art.

of an infant, is weighed against its sins; the devil, though crushed down below his feet, still endeavouring to depress the scale of evil, catching it with his claws or with a hook.

Before concluding, I may notice two peculiarities of frequent occurrence in Byzantine art, and common alike to that of primeval Egypt, of classic Greece, and of reviving Italy—the approximation of successive incidents of the same story within the same field or compartment; and the representation of personages of superhuman power as of superhuman stature. The diminutive size of the devotees in the Giottesque Madonnas, of the courtiers in the portraits of the Emperors in the middle ages, of the Victories in the hand and by the side of the Jupiter Olympius, of the warriors who contend around the car of Rameses, etc., reflect the same feelings of reverence and humility, and are so many links connecting the Arno with the Nile, the Medici with Memnon and Osirei.

Such were the Traditional Compositions of the Byzantine School. The enumeration may have been tedious, and the consideration I have claimed for them may appear excessive, but they are the channel through which the spirit of the Christian Art of Greece passed into that of Italy and Europe, —they are the basement on which the pyramid of Modern Art is built, and the sand must be cleared away before we can discern and appreciate its correct proportions. Once fixed in the memory, we shall have little difficulty in estimating the progressive development of Composition in Christian Europe. Each great school has, in fact, its distinct series of traditional compositions, a few original, but the greater number inherited and improved by its immediate founder; each series therefore is inseparably linked with those that precede and follow it, and thus the continuity of art is preserved unbroken from the first rising of that crescent star over Byzantium, which culminated at the birth of Raphael, to disappear, alas! if not to set for ever, in the clouds and tempest that ushered in the last three centuries.

Section 3.—Monuments of Byzantine Sculpture, Mosaic and Painting, till the decadence in the Eleventh Century.

I proceed now to enumerate such individual monuments of the Sculpture and Painting of Byzantium as, I think, will interest you, either as evincing originality of thought and invention on the part of artists, or as illustrating their gradual progress and retrogression as regards the external and mechanical side of art, during the dark ages. The lowest point of depression may be fixed at the close of the eleventh century, after which a decided revival took place, the influence of which communicated itself to Italy. In the present Section I shall confine myself to the former of these periods, producing my specimens as nearly as possible in chronological order, without preserving the distinct separation of Sculpture, Painting and Mosaic.

Of all the early works of Byzantine Art, the mosaics of the nave and of the triumphal arch of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, executed in the fifth century, are the most important, and yet none stand so isolated, none have had so little influence on the latter ages of its development. This arose, doubtless, from the artists having studied entirely on Pagan models, especially Trajan's column, while their successors, who subsequently flocked to Italy, had formed their taste already in Greece and Constantinople.[1] None of the compositions of S. Maria Maggiore have become traditional, and except in the constant introduction of attendant angels, and on one singular occasion, of the vesica piscis, the style of composition, though much superior, differs but little from that of the bas-reliefs of the Roman catacombs.[2]

The mosaics of the triumphal arch are the least interesting,

[1] Not that pagan models were wanting at Constantinople; she was richer than Rome in ancient statues, which abounded there down to the Latin conquest in 1206, and their influence may be seen in the grand design of the mosaics. But the spirit of art became Christian sooner and more entirely in the East than at Rome.

[2] Engravings (very indifferent ones) of the whole series may be found in the 'Vetera Monimenta' of Ciampini, tom. i. p. 195, *sqq.* A good opera-glass is a *sine quâ non* in the examination of mosaics and ancient frescoes. A small mirror or looking-glass would also be found useful in the case of cupolas or the conchæ of tribunes.

except as the earliest existing representation of various scenes from the early history of the Gospel. On the North side appear the two Annunciations, to Zacharias and to Mary,—the Adoration of the Magi, whom Our Saviour receives, seated on the throne or sofa of empire,—and the Slaughter of the Innocents; on the South, the Purification, the Dispute with the Doctors, and the Dance of the Daughter of Herodias; they are straggling in composition, and poorly executed. But those of the nave, depicting the history of the Patriarchs and of the Israelites in the wilderness, are, especially the former, of much interest; the composition is often excellent, the attitudes simple and expressive, though they want relief, and the conception is altogether superior to the performance. You will especially notice the Appearance of the three angels to Abraham at Mamre, where two of them have wings, the third not, in order to indicate Our Saviour,—Jacob's Ladder, resembling a spiral staircase, of most Cyclopean proportions, angels ascending and descending it, and God appearing at the summit; and the Israelites stoning Moses and Aaron in their flight to the Tabernacle, on the morning after the punishment of Korah, Dathan and Abiram,—a hand from heaven surrounds them with a vesica piscis, from which the stones, arrested, fall innocuously to the ground, while a third figure (like the Fourth in the fiery furnace of the Three Children) appears beside them within the vesica piscis, intended doubtless for Our Saviour.

This series of S. Maria Maggiore is the first and last effort of any extent in dramatic representation that the Byzantines have left us in mosaic, for many centuries; their taste for symbolism was probably too strong to allow it to be followed up as otherwise might have been the case.

Of this early Symbolism the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna (alluded to, architecturally, in my letter on Roman art) presents by far the most perfect and interesting example —its architecture, its mosaics and its tombs thoroughly harmonising. The mosaics are peculiarly beautiful; one of them, the Good Shepherd, I have already noticed; another represents Our Saviour, the youthful head, with a cross in his hand, standing beside a brazier of burning coals,[1] beyond which appears an open *scrinium*, or bookcase, containing rolls of the

[1] Probably in allusion to *Isaiah*, vi. 6.

Gospels, each marked with the Evangelist's name; the cross glitters in a heaven of stars in the centre of the dome, and the emblematical animals of the Evangelists watch around it; other symbols, also, are introduced, all most appropriate. But the tombs are still more interesting, as (with the exception, perhaps, of a few busts) the earliest specimens existing of Byzantine sculpture; taken together with those of Galla Placidia's confessor, S. Barbation, and of the Archbishop Rinaldo, in the chapel of the South transept of the Duomo, and those of eight archbishops of Ravenna, who lived in the seventh and eighth centuries, now ranged in the aisles of S. Apollinare di fuori, they will enable you to form a satisfactory idea of its merits during these early ages. They are, for the most part, fairly executed for the time, especially those done by order of Placidia. Nothing can be more striking than the contrast they present in their simplicity to the tombs of the catacombs, so overloaded with typical compositions. In these everything is symbolical. A cross, with two birds perched upon it—or supporting the monogram of Christ—between two lighted candles, or two sheep; birds or stags drinking at a fountain, which springs up below the monogram enclosed in a wreath,—or a lamb carrying the cross and standing on the mount of Paradise—are the most frequent subjects; occasionally, but very rarely, the beardless figure of Our Saviour occurs, seated on his throne. Of historical subjects, properly so called, none are to be met with in the whole series.[1]

[1] The bas-reliefs of the ancient *ambones* of the cathedral, now incrusted into the wall behind the choir, hardly deserve mention as a work of art, but are curious as exhibiting, in distinct rows, the fish, the dove, the lamb, the stag, the peacock, etc.—"the whole sacred menagerie," as Mr. Hope calls it, of Symbolism. . . . These tombs throw an interesting light also on the origin of the three tufts or rays of glory, emblematical of the Trinity, which surround Our Saviour's head in the productions of early Italian painting, and even in the early works of Raphael, Titian, and their contemporaries. I have little doubt of their being a corruption of the well-known monogram of Our Saviour's name, formed by the Greek letters X and P. The gradual progress of corruption is easily traceable at Ravenna. In the *nimbus* or glory of the lamb, for instance, on the tomb of Valentinian (in the northern cross of the Mausoleum) the monogram is introduced entire,—on the lid of the third tomb in the south aisle of S. Apollinare, the loop of the P is omitted, and the remaining part of the letter becomes transformed, by the insertion in the centre, at right angles to it, of a transverse bar, into an upright superimposed on a S. Andrew's cross,—on the third tomb in the northern aisle of the same church, and (in mosaic) on the triumphal arch of S. Vitale (where it is supported in the air by flying angels), these crosses, bounded by an encircling line, become a mere spoked wheel,—while lastly, around the head of Our

In Mosaics—excluding those of S. Maria Maggiore, and those executed subsequently to the eleventh century, and estimating wealth by quality, not quantity—Ravenna is perhaps richer than Rome, although the series in the latter city extend through four hundred, in the former only one hundred and thirty years. But Ravenna was, for a time, the queen of Italy, the Western bride of the Eastern Cæsars, and Byzantium took a generous pride in hanging her richest jewels on the brow of her youthful rival.

Five mosaics of singular interest exist there, executed in the sixth century, and which I commend to your notice—the first, as representing a Typical subject, very rare in Byzantine art, —the second, one of the traditional compositions symbolised, —the third, a direct historical composition from the New Testament, though not traditional,—the fourth and fifth, as purely historical.

The First of these, representing the Holy Eucharist, occupies the right-hand wall of the sanctuary in the basilica of S. Apollinare di fuori, between the town and the sea. Melchizedek appears seated at a table covered with a white cloth, on which stand a cup and two wafers or loaves—he holds a third in his hand—the hand of the Almighty points to him from the clouds—Abel, to the left, holds up a lamb towards Melchizedek—Abraham, on the other side, presents to the spectator his son Isaac, who points to Melchizedek. Substitute the antitype for the type, the Prince of Peace for the King of Salem, and the interpretation is clear throughout.[1]

Saviour on the front of the sarcophagus in the south aisle of S. Apollinare (above alluded to), five imperfect radii, answering to the five uppermost spokes of the wheel, alone remain. From five to three the reduction was natural enough, and there Christian reverence should have stopped short; but the tendency of man towards God has ever been that of King Lear's daughters, to diminish his dues of outward observance, and after the descent to three, the question soon followed, and was answered, "what need one?"

[1] A similar but less complicated composition occupies the principal position on the south wall of the presbytery of S. Vitale, and is faced by a representation of Abraham entertaining the three angels at Mamre, the offering of Isaac being shown in the background. To the right and left, respectively, of the former composition (of Melchizedek), figure Isaiah, standing beside the altar, and Moses, before the bush; to the right and left of the latter (the Feast at Mamre), Jeremiah, and Moses, receiving the Law. Two angels display a wheel, emblematical (I presume) of Christ (see the preceding note), on the centre of the triumphal arch, which rises from Bethlehem on the south side and from Jerusalem on the north. And in the shell of the tribune, beyond it, Our Saviour is seated on the globe, the youthful face, presenting the crown of life to S. Vitale. The compositions on the walls of the tribune will be specially noticed in the text.

The Second, representing the Transfiguration, fills the tribune of the same church of S. Apollinare, and is one of the most curious examples of symbolism I know. The scene is a green meadow, of uneven ground, intended perhaps as mountainous, and diversified with rocks and flowers, cypresses and pines. A gemmed cross (in the centre of which the head of Our Saviour, the traditional type, is inserted like a precious stone) occupies the position usually assigned to the full-length figure of Christ; below it appear the Latin words, 'Salus Mundi,' above it the five Greek letters IXΘYC, noticed in my Table of Symbols as the initials of the Redeemer's title, and the origin of the symbol of the fish. At the top of the shell, or concha, the hand of God issuing from the clouds points to the cross. Moses (his head a youthful one) and Elias—half-figures, truncated and cut short—rest on clouds [1] to the right and left of the cross, similarly pointing to it. While below, in the green meadow, three sheep, answering for S. Peter, S. James and S. John, gaze upwards. The arrangement is exactly the same as that of the traditional composition. Immediately below the cross stands S. Apollinare, in his ancient archiepiscopal robes, his hands raised in the act of preaching, and on either side, their heads towards him, by six and six, twelve sheep, representing, I presume, not the Apostles, but the faithful listening to his words—possibly "the twelve tribes of Israel," in the sense S. James gives the expression in his epistle. This is perhaps the most beautifully executed mosaic at Ravenna; it is equal to the best at Rome; there is much dignity, and the heads are free from the scraggy and ragged appearance which frequently offends the eye and injures the effect in works of this description.

The Third that I have cited, occupies the walls of the nave of S. Apollinare di dentro, or within the city. At the upper end of the Northern wall, the three Kings approach Our Saviour, seated in the Virgin's arms, and attended by four angels to the right and left; at the upper end of the Southern, Our Saviour is seated on the throne in mature age, the traditional type, attended by angels and blessing. Two long lines of Saints, male and female, extending the whole length of the nave, on either side, approach these several groups, all in white, each separated by a palm, to offer their homage, the

[1] This rather absurd mode of representation was perpetuated even to the days of Raphael by the Byzantine lines of succession in Italian art.

former issuing from a large building inscribed 'Palatium,' presumed to represent the palace of Theodoric—behind which is seen a church surmounted by a cupola, intended, it is supposed, for S. Vitale—the latter from another large building, behind which is seen the sea and Roman galleys, intended doubtless as a representation of Classis, the maritime suburb of Ravenna. These mosaics are not equal to the two I have just described, though there is much grace in some of the figures.

Fourthly and Fifthly, on the walls of the tribune of S. Vitale, and on the left-hand wall of the presbytery of S. Apollinare di fuori, are represented the consecrations of those respective churches by the archbishop Maximian, under Justinian. In the former, Justinian and his wife Theodora stand on the opposite walls, with vases containing their offerings, the Emperor attended by Maximian and his courtiers, the Empress by her ladies; in the latter, Justinian presents the archbishop a roll, on which is inscribed the word 'Privilegia.'[1]

The throne of this same archbishop, Maximian, preserved in the sacristy of the Duomo, is also a valuable relic, as illustrating the state of dramatic sculpture at the close of the sixth century. It was originally covered with bas-reliefs in ivory, some of which still remain, chiefly relating to the story of Joseph,—his meeting with Jacob is perhaps the best. They evince much skill for the time, though the faces are generally caricatured. When these bas-reliefs were executed, the passion for symbolism was on the wane. I mentioned, in the preceding section, its prohibition, and the encouragement given to direct dramatic representation, by the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 692. But no sooner had sculpture obeyed the invitation, and given promise of excellence in her new line, than the tide of religious feeling set in directly against her; the Iconoclast reform took place, statues and bas-reliefs were banished from the churches of Greece, and (as I before stated) it is only on diptychs and small works in ivory, or in bronze doors for the churches and cathedrals of foreign countries, that she has since found employment. We shall have occasion to notice several of these before long.

[1] The two mosaics in S. Vitale have been engraved in Mr. Gally Knight's 'Eccles. Architecture of Italy,' First Series, pl. 10.

Of the frescoes of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, no specimens, I believe, exist. But the illuminations of the Book of Joshua, preserved in the Vatican—of that of Genesis, in the Imperial Library at Vienna—and of the Syriac Gospels in the Laurentian Library at Florence, executed at the monastery of Marphuk in Mesopotamia, and long preserved in that of Canubin on Mount Lebanon—may supply the deficiency. The former, I regret to say, I know only by the engravings in the work of Count Seroux d'Agincourt,[1] which clearly evince the classic education of the artist; the same is perceptible in the Genesis of Vienna, which bears the strongest resemblance to some of the mosaics in S. Maria Maggiore, especially in composition[2]—the very colouring appeared to me somewhat duskier and deader than the Byzantine—the illuminations in the exquisitely beautiful Greek manuscript of the Gospels at Mount Sinai, supposed to be nearly of the same date, are much more brilliant. But the Syriac volume will interest you, I think, more than either of the preceding, from the singular boldness and originality of ideas animating (doubtless) one of the rudest pencils of the age. But such is uniformly the case. Each fresh nation, either on embracing Christianity or amalgamating with the prior occupants of the soil, seems to have bounded forwards for a moment with new life, using art as a safety-valve—the Mesopotamians on the present occasion, the Lombards (as we shall find hereafter) in the seventh and eighth centuries, the Franks of Charlemagne in the ninth, the Bulgarians and Russians in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh—each ruder than the other, but life-like, fiery and almost fierce in their exultancy. You will notice, especially, the Ascension in this manuscript, nearly the same as the usual Byzantine composition, with the addition of the symbolical beasts of Ezekiel buoying up Our Saviour, as in the well known 'Vision' by Raphael. The Crucifixion is more original; all the usual *dramatis personæ* are introduced—Our Saviour wears the robe of purple, one of the soldiers pierces his side, the other presents him the sponge of vinegar,[3] three others part his raiment at the foot of the cross—the Virgin and S. John stand beside the cross of the penitent thief, the women from Galilee under that of the reviler. Below this composition

[1] *Peinture*, pl. 28, 29, 30.
[2] See D'Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 19.
[3] On the instrument commonly called a *lazy-tongs*.

appears the Resurrection—rays of light rush from the opened folding doors of the sepulchre, and strike down the guards, while an angel, sitting on the stone that has been rolled away, addresses the women. Many small subjects are scattered through the volume, betokening an inventive mind and a hand bold and fearless, though untutored; an angel and a devil fighting for a soul, which the latter holds by the leg, is not good, but it is the earliest occurrence of the idea that I have noticed in art;[1] a blind man led by a boy is much better—his upward glance, forward gait and uncertain step are well conveyed, and show the artist to have been an observer of nature; and at the bottom of the pages are many attempts at drawing animals, some not bad, a doe for instance, trying to scratch its ear, and others.[2]

A similar originality may be observed in several of the Bulgarian and Russian compositions, the first-fruits of Christian Art in those countries, as engraved among the monuments of Seroux d'Agincourt.[3] Into Bulgaria, indeed, painting is said to have been—not the introduced, but—the introducer of Christianity, a picture of the Last Judgment by Methodius, a holy monk and excellent artist of the ninth century, having frightened a prince of that nation into baptism.[4] Russian art is of more recent origin by two centuries; Jaroslaf, son of Wolodomir, the illustrious son of an illustrious sire, both of them of the Norman blood and descendants of Rurik, or Roderick, the patriarch of so many of the existing noble families of Russia—having introduced it from Byzantium.

But, to return to the ninth century:—The solitary fresco, surviving, of the series that once adorned the *atrium* of the church of S. Cecilia in Trastevere at Rome—now attached to the wall near the absis, at the extremity of the right aisle—is a very pleasing specimen of the art of that period, although certainly not the production of a first-rate painter. It represents the Apparition of the Saint to Pope Pascal I. in a dream,

[1] This idea being of Persian origin, its occurrence thus in a Christian MS. of Mesopotamia throws an interesting light on the transmission of tradition westwards.

[2] These 'Sketches' are by no means intended to comprehend the vicissitudes of miniature and glass-painting, of *cisellatura* or goldsmith's work, of medal-cutting, of engraving, of embroidery, *tarsia*, and similar inferior but graceful branches of art; it is only when from accidental causes the higher fail to supply illustrations of the progress of art in general, that I shall appeal to them.

[3] See, for example, *Peinture*, pl. 61, 83, 120.

[4] *Cedrenus*, tom. ii. p. 540, as cited by Agincourt.

in order to inform him where her relics were concealed. Through rudeness and incorrectness of design, it displays, nevertheless, much grace and pleasing expression.[1]

Many, too, of the precious mosaics still existing at Rome belong to this century. The iconoclast persecutions had occasioned a continual migration of Greek monks, skilled in the art, and they seem to have been kept in constant employment. Among their best works are the mosaics of S. Pudenziana and of S. Prassede—the former, representing the Saviour enthroned, attended by S. Peter and S. Paul, S. Pudenziana and S. Prassede, and others, very noble, with a curious architectural background—executed about the beginning of the century; the latter, representing the City of the Apocalypse, in 818—rough and stiff, but full of dignity,[2]—and those in the sanctuary of S. Ambrogio, at Milan, of high merit, executed in 836 for the Emperor Louis II., and representing to the right and left, the death of S. Martin and the Vision of S. Ambrose, during mass, at Milan, on awaking from which he affirmed that Martin had died at Tours, and that he had just assisted at his funeral. After the middle of the century, however, the series of mosaics abruptly terminates; it was a season of war, misery and barbarism, and for two centuries none were executed in any part of Italy.[3]

These centuries, so emphatically 'dark' in Europe, were a shade less so in Greece; the "light of other days" was dim, but not extinguished. Georgius, Pantaleo, Nestor, Menas, and Symeon of Blachernæ (the court-quarter), were probably the leading artists at Byzantium at the close of the tenth century, when, with two or three assistants, they illuminated

[1] It is engraved in Agincourt, with the remainder of the series, *Peinture*, pl. 84.

[2] The mosaic of S. Pudenziana is engraved in Mr. Knight's 'Ecclesiastical Antiquities,' *First Series*, pl. 23.

[3] The more interesting Italian mosaics, up to this period, may be enumerated as follows, in their chronological order :—Those of S. Sabina, Rome, c. 425 (now almost entirely destroyed); of S. Maria Maggiore, c. 432; of SS. Nazario and Celso, or the tomb of Galla Placidia, Ravenna, 440; of S. Giovanni in Fonte, Ravenna, 451 ; of SS. Cosmo and Damian, Rome 530; of S. Vitale, Ravenna, 547 ; of S. Maria in Cosmedin, Ravenna, 553 ; of S. Apollinare di fuori, Ravenna, 567 ; of S. Apollinare di dentro, Ravenna, 570 ; of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, Rome, 578 ; of S. Agnes, Rome, 625 ; of the oratory of S. Venanzio, adjoining the Baptistery of Constantine, Rome, 642 ; of the Triclinium of S. Leone (interesting for the portrait of Charlemagne), Rome, 797 ; of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, Rome, c. 800 ; of S. Maria in Domenica, Rome, 815 ; of S. Pudenziana, Rome, and of S. Prassede, Rome, c. 820 ; of S. Cecilia, Rome, 820 ; of S. Ambrogio, Milan, 836 ; of S. Maria Nuova, Rome, 848.

the celebrated Menologion for the Emperor Basil II., now preserved in the Vatican.[1] It is a thick folio volume, filled with small paintings, representing the martyrdoms of the Saints commemorated, as well as almost all the traditional compositions from sacred history—a volume of rare beauty, and which it is impossible to turn over without a glow of rapture, so exquisite is the vellum, so delicate the caligraphy, and so rich and brilliant the illuminations, fresh as if finished yesterday. They are deficient, indeed, in the originality and fire noticeable in many earlier works, but a deep religious feeling reigns throughout; the martyrdoms are the worst, but where there is no violent action, the attitudes are easy and dignified, the drapery broad and well adjusted, the air noble and the expression good,—the emotions of piety, reverential awe and resignation, well rendered, though grief, except in a few instances, runs into caricature. The flesh betrays a tendency to emaciation, but not revoltingly so. The sky is always of gold,—the backgrounds are either architectural in the Byzantine style, or mountainous, the summit of each mountain lopped (as it were) short in two or three places, the shrubs and trees at their feet rising to a third or half of their height. Perspective, of course, there is none, although an attempt is always made to give the colouring of distance, blue and pink, —but it is easy to imagine how rudely. Altogether, it is not easy to apply a higher epithet to the painters of the Menologion than that of good mechanical painters for the time—infinitely superior in that respect to their contemporaries in Western Europe.[2]

Arrived on the threshold of the eleventh century, commonly considered as marking the lowest decadence of Byzantine art, I must enter a protest, that that decadence, which to a certain extent I admit, be estimated by the productions of the best, not the worst artists, of those who worked at Constantinople for princes and emperors, not of the inferior fry who migrated to Italy.

To the former class belong the ivory tablets, carved in Greece during the early part of the century, for insertion in

[1] Most of the illuminations are signed by the painters' names.

[2] Woodcuts of these compositions (very rude ones) are given in the edition of the Menologion published at Urbino, 3 tom. folio, 1727. Engravings of some of the best may be seen in Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 31 *sqq.*

the binding of the missals presented by the Emperor S. Henry to the cathedral of Bamberg,[1]—now preserved in the Library at Munich; and the bronze gates cast at Constantinople in 1070, for the basilica of S. Paolo fuori le mura, at Rome.[2]

Of the tablets, two deserve especial notice, the Death of the Virgin—the traditional composition, very small, but exquisitely worked, and with much expression—and the Crucifixion—much larger, and presenting the singularities of the cross being planted on the head of the serpent, of the sun and moon being represented in their cars within their respective disks, and, at the bottom, the God Oceanus attendant with his urn, and Tellus with the cornucopia. It is altogether a larger and more striking composition than the Death of the Virgin, but it is on the latter, especially, coupled with the gates of S. Paolo, now, alas! no more, but well known by engravings, accurately traced from its bas-reliefs,[3] that I venture to ground my dissent from the common opinion, that such abortions as I am about to mention—the bronze doors of S. Zenone at Verona, and of the cathedral of Pisa; the 'Pala d'Oro' and Ciborium, and the mosaics of the Southern and Northern transepts of S. Mark's, at Venice—fairly represent the contemporary talent of Byzantium.

Of these the doors of S. Zenone and Pisa are probably the oldest. The former I long supposed to be of Italian workmanship, partly from the few traces that appear of the Byzantine compositions, partly from the costume more nearly resembling that of Italy, partly from the inconceivable rudeness of the sculpture. But authorities concur, I believe, in the opinion of their Greek origin. If so, as S. Zenone was building towards the close of the tenth century, they must be almost exactly contemporary with the ivory sculptures of the Bamberg missals!

The Pisan door is a little, a very little superior to that of S. Zenone. Its precise antiquity is unknown; it is said to have been brought by the Pisans from the Balearic islands after the conquest in 1117.[4] The inscriptions are in Latin,

[1] Dedicated in 1012.

[2] The date and place of execution are given in the inscription, in which moreover the name of "the venerable monk and archdeacon Dominus Ildeprandus"—probably the celebrated Hildebrand, subsequently pope by the name of Gregory VII.—is associated with that of the then reigning pontiff. *Ciampini, Vett. Mon.* tom. i. p. 42.

[3] In Agincourt, *Sculpture*, pl. 13-20.

[4] According to the "perantiqua traditio" of Pisa. *Ciampini, Vett. Monimenta*, tom. i. p. 56.

but that is no argument against its Greek origin.[1] One thing, however, is remarkable and should have its weight, that, while the door of S. Paul's, the Menologion, and almost all the works positively known to be of Byzantine workmanship, strictly adhere to the traditional compositions, these doors of Pisa and Verona do not, as if they had been executed by a degenerate school, far from the fountain-head.

Be that, however, as it may, there is but one opinion as to the Greek origin of the artists employed at S. Mark's during the last quarter of the eleventh century. Of their works the Pala d'Oro and the Ciborium are probably the oldest. The former, an accumulation of sculpture and painting of the most wretched description, was begun in 978, and is thus nearly contemporary with the tablets of the Bamberg missal! The Ciborium, probably a few years later in date, is still worse; its sculptured columns and general appearance irresistibly suggest a comparison with the rice sculptures of the Chinese. But for a curious instance of symbolism (Our Saviour being represented, in the Crucifixion, by a lamb standing in front of a Greek cross, between the two thieves), and the known inferiority to which Byzantine art could stoop, I should have thought it of Italian workmanship.

Finally, the mosaics, begun in 1073, and which may be seen in the Southern transept and on the cupola of the Northern, are below contempt—artless, uncouth and lifeless beyond description—and yet contemporary with the gates of S. Paolo!—I think, on examining these, you will allow that my protest has been fully justified.

It does, indeed, appear strange that any doubts should have existed on the subject—that Byzantium should have been deemed guilty of such abominations. Casting your eye from the Northern to the Central or the Western cupola of S. Mark's, each of them executed within fifty years after the former, it is the transition from death to life, from rudeness to grandeur—life, like the fire of Prometheus, reimported from its sunny fountain in the East—grandeur, which betrays that fresh and active spirit which distinguishes Byzantine art in the twelfth century, and which it shall be the object of the concluding portion of this letter to illustrate more minutely.

[1] The inscriptions are constantly in Latin in the mosaics of S. Mark's, and elsewhere. On this point we have the authority of Lanzi, *Storia Pittorica della Italia, Sienese School,* Epoch I.

Meanwhile we are lost in conjecture how it could come to pass that Venice—rich and respected, in alliance with the Eastern Emperors, in constant communication and importing her artists direct from Byzantium—should have been so unlucky in her choice, or, if deficient in the taste to choose, should have so utterly failed in attracting to her service artists of that nobler stamp which unquestionably did exist there at the period. I can only account for it by supposing that those of superior order hesitated at first to quit the pleasant banks of the Bosphorus for a land which they accounted barbarous, and which then indeed presented few symptoms of being the destined cradle of European civilisation.

Section 4.—Monuments of Byzantine Sculpture, Mosaic and Painting, from the revival under the Comneni in the Twelfth Century.

A revival, and a very remarkable one, did indeed take place in Byzantine art in the twelfth century, but not, I think, in consequence of the congregation and competition of artists at Venice, as commonly supposed; I should rather consider it the result and expression of that general revival of the national spirit which signalised the reigns of the three Comneni, Alexius I., Calo-Johannes, and Manuel,[1] and which may possibly be accounted for—to a certain extent, at least—by the recent settlement and intermixture of the Varangians. Nor is it at Venice, but at Rome, in the mosaic of S. Clemente, executed in 1112, that the new spirit first becomes apparent.[2]

This mosaic is a most elaborate and beautiful performance, yielding to none in minuteness of detail and delicacy of sentiment. It is characterised, moreover, by a resuscitation

[1] This revival lasted from A.D. 1081 to 1180. During this period, and especially under the Emperor Manuel, the Byzantine monarchy, says Gibbon, "became an object of respect or terror to the powers of Asia and Europe."—chap. 48.

[2] Manuel Panselinos, of Thessalonica, so celebrated in the 'Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne' of the painter Dionysius, and by his editor M. Didron, as the chief or patriarch of the school which has existed till the present day in Mount Athos, and who is said to have flourished in the eleventh century, may have been created by this revival of the national spirit under the Comneni. His works are shown in the principal church of Kares, the capital of Mount Athos. Thessalonica seems to have been the chief seat of Byzantine art previous to the time of Panselinos. The mosaics of the Rotunda there are, according to M. Didron, the most ancient and beautiful in Greece.

of the symbolism of early Christianity, so long neglected, although in subordination to one of the traditional dramatic compositions, the Crucifixion. On every account, therefore, it merits our most attentive examination.

The centre of the composition is occupied by the tree of life, the Cross, elevated on the Mount of Paradise and the Church, and reaching to a series of five concentric rainbow-like semicircles, signifying Heaven, from which the hand of God issues, veiled in clouds, holding the crown of victory, and also two cords with a heart attached to each, allusive (possibly) to *Hosea* xi. 4, or *Psalm* cxviii. 27. To the right and left, within the circle, stands the paschal lamb, with a glory, and other ornaments, all having a tendency to the cross form.

The Cross itself is of black or dark wood; Our Saviour is represented nailed upon it, but very small in proportion, attenuated and emaciated, the feet pierced with separate nails and resting on a suppeditaneum. On the limbs of the Cross are represented nine white doves, three above the head, four below the feet, and two beyond either hand.[1]

Springing from the foot of the Cross, a thorn twists itself round it, forming a figure of eight, and enclosing in the upper loop the Saviour, in the lower the Virgin and S. John, as in the oldest and simplest form of the traditional composition. From this thorn, on either side of the foot of the Cross, is suspended a bottle or lachrymatory, *Psalm* lvi. 8.

The base of the Cross is hid by acanthus leaves, on the top of which perch two birds. From the base, as from a deep well or fountain, the water of life descends in a cascade, which parts into the four streams of the Gospel, and again united, flows on, to the right and left, as the "river of the waters of life." A stag is drinking at the well above the cascade, immediately at the foot of the Cross, possibly implying direct spiritual communion with the Saviour, and two others at the Evangelic streams below — while water-fowl and fish, the emblems of the faithful, swim in the river of life, and a whole array of the Christian symbols are ranged along the bank—a man holding the scape-goat, the Good Shepherd feeding his flock, the hen and chickens (*Matth.* xxiii. 37), the Sower scattering seed—a tree against which lies an axe, while a spear,

[1] Seven white doves surrounding Our Saviour signify, in mediæval art, the seven gifts of the Spirit. What nine imply I do not know. Ciampini is similarly puzzled respecting the nine formerly to be seen at the summit of the triumphal arch of S. Sabina, at Rome, *Vett. Monimenta*, tom. i. p. 191.

a quiver, a sword, a helmet, and a saddle are laid upon it (in allusion to Luke, iii. 9),—besides several of the symbolical animals, a bird in a cage, and another killing (apparently) a snail—neither of which I am able to explain.

Lastly, springing, like the thorn, from the foot of the Cross, a vine, emblematical of the Church, spreads like a rolling frieze over the whole remaining hollow of the tribune, the fowls of heaven (or the faithful) lodging, and the four Doctors of the Latin Church ensconced among its branches, besides various other figures which, from their minuteness, I have never been able to make out.

Below the whole composition, a row of thirteen sheep, the central one, with a glory, looking straight at you, the other twelve, six on either side, looking towards the central one—and represented as having come out from two archways at the extremities of the tribune, leading respectively to the cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem—symbolise Our Saviour and the apostles.

Finally, on the triumphal arch, high above the whole, Our Saviour, a half-figure, within a blue orb bordered with stars, fixes his eyes on the congregation, and, with uplifted hand, pronounces the benediction ; the emblems of the Evangelists are disposed on either side of him, and lower down, to the right and left, appear S. Paul and S. Lawrence, S. Peter and S. Clement, seated respectively side by side, and lower still, standing up as the wall narrows, Jeremiah and Isaiah, extending the scrolls of their prophecy towards Our Saviour.

I am afraid that this is but an imperfect description of this interesting mosaic. I have paid it many a visit, and never without discovering something new. But however imperfect, my sketch will in this, as in other instances, save you the trouble—the agony, I may say, to eyes and head—attendant on the study of mosaics, when neither engraving nor description exists to assist the examination.

We may now revert to the mosaics of S. Mark's, at Venice. A detailed description of the whole would be far beyond my limits, nor would it repay the trouble. Nor do I think that, however appropriately subjects have here and there been selected with reference to their locality, any general plan or order has been observed in their arrangement, as regards the church as a whole. We are at liberty, therefore, to consider them detachedly, and I shall thus call your attention, first, to

the mosaics of the Central and Western cupola, and those of the porch—probably from the usual progress of church-building, the earliest executed, with the exception of those already mentioned, in the North and South transepts.

The subjects of the two cupolas are very well chosen. In the centre of the most westerly, which overhangs the nave, the Dove, symbolical of the Holy Spirit, hovers with its wings expanded over an altar, from which rays, terminating in tongues of fire, descend on the twelve Apostles, seated in a circle—inscriptions over each indicating the "gifts of the Spirit"—"spiritus in flammis," "percipientes," "vim linguæ," etc. Below them, between the small windows at the base of the cupola, are distributed groups of Parthians, Medes, Elamites, etc.—of all the nations, in short, mentioned in the second chapter of Acts, as assembled at Jerusalem at the day of Pentecost, and to whom the newly inspired Apostles preached "in their tongues the wonderful works of God."

In the central cupola, Our Saviour appears, in the act of benediction, within a circular glory, supported by floating angels—the Virgin, attended by two angels, and the twelve Apostles, each separated by a palm-tree, standing around him. Between the windows are ranked the Theological and Cardinal Virtues, and in the four *pennacchi* or pendentives are seated the Evangelists, below each of whom stands a river-god, pouring out of his urn one of the rivers of Paradise.

There is majesty, and even grace, in these compositions, and the Christ in the central cupola is full of dignity.[1]

The mosaics of the Porch extend from right to left through its whole extent, beginning from the little cupola immediately above the most southerly of the three western doors. They represent the history of the Bible from the Creation till the gathering of manna, and striking of the rock in Horeb,—an untimely conclusion, but the artless artists seem to have worked on, from arch to arch, from cupola to cupola, without a thought of the policy of economising their space.

The earlier part of the series, comprising the first cupola and the suffits of the two arches intervening between it and the second, is the most interesting; it is very original, and full of ideas. Either the artist or his employer has been a

[1] The third cupola, over the choir, is inferior. The Saviour blessing, in the tribune, is as late as 1506; and the last mosaic, I believe, done in S. Mark's or in Italy, in the pure old Byzantine style.

good theologian ; many truths, less universally accepted now, are recognised in his compositions—the character of Our Saviour, for instance, as the active creator, "by whom all things were made,"[1] and others, which I will notice. Here too, as almost uniformly among the Byzantines, Our Saviour is represented throughout as "the Lord" of the Old Testament, distinguished by the triple-rayed nimbus, or glory. The Father, as of old, is only seen by the hand from heaven.

The first cupola is occupied by the history of the Creation till the Fall, twenty-four subjects in three concentric circles.

In the first of the three circles, the second subject, the partition of light from darkness, will strike you ; an angel, with his hands raised, separates from each other two globes, the one of fiery red, with a central spot of white heat, the other black, but rays of light issuing from both—while our Saviour stands by, commanding. The idea of forcible separation reminds one of the composition of Raphael, in which the Deity is represented effecting it by personal exertion—but the Byzantine has the advantage in true sublimity.

The compositions of the second circle increase in interest. Hitherto angels have been the Saviour's ministers in the material creation, but he models Adam with his own hands, while a more numerous company of the heavenly host attend as spectators ; in the following compartment he solemnly blesses him, as yet an animal only, endowed with body and soul, but nothing more ; in the third, holding the cross, and pointing it towards Adam, who extends his arms crosswise, as if in prayer, he breathes into him the immortal spirit, which, in the shape of a little butterfly or winged genius, clings to and becomes identified with him.[2] In the fourth, Adam is introduced into the Garden of Eden, in the midst of which rises the tree of life, from the foot of which descend the four rivers of Paradise, each, as usual, from an urn held by its deity.

In the third row, or circle, the history is continued, from Adam's nomenclature of the brute creation to the expulsion from Eden—where, in the midst of the tree of life, within the

[1] *John*, i. 3 ; *Hebrews*, i. 2, etc.

[2] "It is very well known," observes Mr. Douce, "that the ancients often symbolised the human soul by the figure of a butterfly. . . . In a very interesting sepulchral monument, engraved in p. 7, of Spon's *Miscellanea Eruditæ Antiquitatis*, a prostrate corpse is seen, and over it a butterfly that has just escaped from the mouth of the deceased. . . . Rejecting this heathen symbol altogether, the painters and engravers of the middle ages," etc.—*Douce's Dance of Death*, p. 2.

garden, is displayed a golden cross—and the favourite subject of Adam delving and Eve spinning.

Descending to the three lunettes over the doors, which open, respectively, into the church, into S. Zeno's chapel, and into the piazza, we find the history of Cain and Abel, from the nuptial embrace of Adam to the sentence pronounced by God the Father on Cain after the murder, against which he protests in the words, "My iniquity is greater than may be forgiven," as more accurately rendered in the Vulgate translation. Cain is represented with frizzled hair, as if the father of the negro race, or perhaps to express the "mark" set on him by God.

The history of Noah and his family occupies the remainder of this first and better portion of the mosaics. On the suffit of the first intervening arch, the sacrifice after the deluge and the release of the animals out of the ark are noticeable. To the left Noah is represented offering, as the inscription says, "holocaustum Domino," but he only holds up a dove before the altar; to the right, the lions, wolves, stags, etc. are seen bounding away in the delight of their recovered liberty. Singularly enough, the deer seems to have the gift of inducing grace in the rudest ages of art; here, as in the Syriac gospels and in the tombs of Egypt, it is represented with a certain elegance.

On the second suffit, Canaan, not Ham, is correctly represented as the mocker at his father's nakedness. In the compartment representing the building of the Tower of Babel, Our Saviour holding the cross, and attended by three angels, looks down from heaven, lifting his hand in reprehension; and in that which follows, the Dispersion is represented by the ancestors of the human race departing in four distinct companies towards the four quarters of the globe, while Christ, with his attendant angels, stands over the principal door of the Tower.

The compositions which follow this appear to me by a different hand, and inferior both in invention and execution; the angels especially are no longer so graceful, if I may so express myself. There are two or three, however, worth notice,—Abraham, with Sarah and his family, on their pilgrimage, in the second cupola; Joseph's brethren dining, after selling him to the Midianites, in the third—they sit round in a circle, like Bedouin Arabs; and in the fifth, Joseph storing the grain in the Pyramids, universally believed in the

thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, and even long before, to have been built by that patriarch as granaries during "the dear years."[1]

The gesticulation—by which I mean, not the attitudes of passion, but the conventional language of the hand—is often very remarkable throughout the series.

I must now invite your company in my gondola once more to Torcello, touching *en voyage* at Murano, another of the Venetian islets, where the mosaic in the tribune of the Duomo, executed about the middle of the twelfth century, is one of the most remarkable of the Byzantine revival; it represents a single figure only, the Virgin, the Greek type, standing on a cushion of cloth of gold, alone in the field, and completely enveloped in her long blue robe; her hands are held forth appealingly towards the spectator, two large tear-drops hang on her cheek, settled sorrow dwells in every feature; the very spirit of the "Stabat Mater" breathes through this affecting portraiture—the silent searching look for sympathy is irresistible. The face is not beautiful, but impressive and dignified; there is a feeling of elegance in the attitude, and the workmanship is finished with care, and evidently by one of the best artists of the time.

The mosaics at Torcello are nearly of the same date, and perhaps by the same master. But the most important of them, covering the interior of the western extremity of the church, is a much more elaborate performance.

It is divided into five compartments, of which the two uppermost represent the Crucifixion and Descent into Hell, or Limbo, the three lower, connectedly, the Last Judgment; all three are the traditional compositions, and the last is the most elaborate representation of the subject, purely Byzantine, that I am acquainted with.

The Judge—not the youthful but the traditional type—sits on the rainbow within a vesica piscis of glory, his hands expanded, exhibiting the nail-marks, both palms forward, attended to the right and left by the Virgin and S. John, and by the Apostles beyond them, six on either side, a host of attendant angels filling up the scene behind them. At the

[1] See *e.g.* Sir John Mandeville's Travels, p. 63, edit. 1727. Ruffinus speaks of it as the tradition of Egypt, in the fourth century. *Vitæ Patrum*, etc., p. 476, ed. 1615.

foot of the vesica piscis stand two seraphim, guarding, as it were, the two wheels of Ezekiel, the "wheel in the middle of a wheel," within which is the "spirit of life," and between which, and from the foot of the Saviour's glory, descends a stream of fire winding round like a snake, and gradually, as it descends into the third and lowest compartment, expanding into the flames of Hell.[1]

Below Our Saviour appears an altar, on which reposes the Book of Life, surmounted by the cross; seraphim hover above it, and angels guard it to the right and left; in front of the altar, stretching out their hands in prayer, kneel an aged man and woman, our first parents, as types of the human race.[2] On either side, an angel blows the trump of judgment, and at the two extremities of the compartment the Earth and Sea give up their dead—vomited forth, mutilated and piecemeal, by lions, elephants, tigers, etc. in the one instance, by fishes and sea-monsters in the other—Amphitrite, her brows, ankles and wrists enwreathed with sea-weed, and riding on a spotted sea-monster which disgorges a human corpse, queening it in her element.

A little lower, but nearly between these scenes of the resurrection, stands the archangel Michael, holding the balance of divine justice, while two devils attempt to destroy its equipoise with their long forks; they are represented in human shape, but black, with horns and long ears, a girdle round their waists, talaria to their heels, but the feet ending in toes, not claws; a white purse hangs round their necks, and the foremost holds three others in his left hand.

Last and lowest, as the consummation of all things, are represented Hell and Paradise. In the former Satan, a black, single-headed, hoary-haired giant, occupies his throne as king paramount. His feet end in claws; two dragons, issuing either from the throne on which he sits, or from himself, I am uncertain which, devour each a sinner; in his lap sits a figure of the same shape, but white, and apparently much at his ease there, possibly the soul of Judas Iscariot. Around him rolls a sea of fire in which human figures flounder about, little devils clutching and clinging to their heads, while angels with long blue staves push them deeper in. Lowest of all, six small

[1] *Daniel*, vii. 80.

[2] A figure in an attitude of sorrow or intercession, is almost invariably introduced below the throne, in subsequent representations of the subject

compartments seem to delineate the varieties of torture,—dissevered heads, feet and arms, souls wedged in thick-ribbed ice, etc. etc., are seen in horrible and ghastly confusion.

Paradise, on the opposite side, is represented as an enclosed garden, within which Abraham is seated with a soul in his lap, and several others (all in the shape of children) at his knee; the ground is covered with the flowers of spring; the guardian seraph watches within the gate, the branches of the Tree of Life overhang it; S. John the Baptist stands on the outside, with his cross, as the preacher of repentance, and over against him S. Peter, attended by an angel, holding the keys of grace, and ready to give admittance; each seems to beckon the spectator with his hand,—while beyond S. John, the Virgin, holding forth her hands, seems to intimate that she will assist by her intercession any who may wish to enter. Her head—the Greek type, and one of the most beautiful I have seen—is represented in the lunette over the door, an aspect of calm stillness, the hands raised in prayer—with the inscription,

"Virgo, Dei natum prece pulsa, terge reatum."

Altogether, this is a beautiful mosaic, and superior, I think, to any at Venice; the ideas are original, the traditional composition is amplified and filled out in a kindred spirit; the angels are graceful, and there is singular ease and spirit in the execution, except where efforts are made to express attitudes dependent on a skill in perspective as yet undreamt of in art. The workmanship, too, merits the same praise bestowed on the mosaic of Murano.[1]

Returning to S. Mark's, and proceeding to the northern

[1] "I suoi musaici," says Cicognara, "si ammirano tuttora, non tanto per la bellezza del disegno, l' espressione dei volti, la grandiosità dello stile, la scioltezza dei panneggiamenti, quanto per la preziosa esecuzione con cui sono connessi, e sfidano l' ingiuria d' altrettanti secoli, quasi chè fossero gelosamente conservati come l' ornamento di una ben custodita e non abbandonata basilica."—*Storia della Scultura, etc.* tom. i. p. 416.

To this same period of revival belong the mosaics of the church of Monreale in Sicily, executed between 1174 and 1182. Knowing them only through the engravings of the interesting work by the Duca di Serradifalco, "Del Duomo di Monreale, e di altre Chiese Siculo-Normanne," *Palermo*, fol. 1838, I speak with hesitation; but, with much general merit, they do not appear to me to possess the originality of those I have just described at Venice and Torcello. The mosaics of the tribune of S. Paolo fuori le mura, at Rome, executed in 1206, survived the fire and may still be seen—the figures are full of dignity. It is engraved in the Chev. Bünsen's work on the basilicas of Rome, pl. 45.

transept, you will find, on the suffit of the arch which overhangs the western triforium, a series of compositions from the early history of the Virgin, very different from those usually met with, being derived from the Protevangelion, or apocryphal Gospel of S. Thomas, little known in the Latin Church.[1] In her Marriage, she is represented as a little girl of twelve years old. In the Annunciation, she is in the act of drawing water at a fountain in front of the house, and the angel addresses her, floating in the air. In the compartment which follows, she receives from the hand of the High Priest, at the door of the temple, a vase containing the purple with which it had fallen to her lot to dye the new veil of the sanctuary—six virgins, of the house of David, are in attendance on her. In the salutation, she is represented as of full stature, being then, according to the Protevangelion, fourteen years old; to the right, in the same composition, Joseph—to whom she had been entrusted, not so much as a husband as a guardian of her virginity—vindicates himself by the "water of trial" from the suspicion of having "privately married" her. In the seventh of the series, the angel appears to Joseph, revealing the mystery of her conception; and in the eighth is represented the Journey to Bethlehem before Our Saviour was born. The series is continued on the adjacent wall, but by modern artists, the earlier compositions having perished. These eight mosaics have much merit, and are evidently a good deal later than those of the cupolas, the porch, Murano and Torcello.

Those of the Baptistery are said to be of the fourteenth century; the historical subjects are, with one exception,[2] very inferior, but those of the cupolas are curious. That of the central one, overhanging the font, represents the Saviour in the centre, the Apostles in a circle round him, each baptizing a naked convert in a font, behind whom stands another in the costume of the country where the Apostle preached, an Ethiopian for S. Matthew, an Indian for S. Thomas, a Roman for St. Peter, etc. But these costumes seem to be purely imaginary. The mosaic, finally, of the cupola overhanging

[1] It is printed in Thilo's 'Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti.'

[2] Representing the daughter of Herodias presenting her mother the head of S. John the Baptist, and the burial of his body. It appears to be more modern than the rest. The history of S. John begins in the lunette to the right of the altar, and, with several breaks, is continued round the chapel to the lunette on the left of the altar. Four subjects from the life of Christ are represented on the vault of the vestibule, and the Crucifixion behind the altar.

the altar represents the heavenly hierarchy surrounding the central figure of Our Saviour, each order signalised by an attitude or occupation expressive of its dignity or office; a Throne, for instance, is seated on a throne—a Domination holds the balance—an Angel and an Archangel rise to heaven, each with a human soul in his arms—a Power binds the devil with chains, and a Virtue points downwards to a skeleton stretched beside a mountain, crowned by an altar, from which gushes forth the river of life, and seems to ask, "Son of Man, can these bones live?"

But S. Mark's is inexhaustible,[1] and I have already perhaps lingered too long on these relics of infant art, although you are not, I am sure, the person to re-echo the hacknied "guarda e passa" of fashionable tourists and many modern artists, whose misapplication of his words might rouse up the indignant shade of Dante to tell, what indeed his whole imagery declares, how deeply and reverently he had drunk inspiration from them.

Of the painters contemporary with the mosaicists of this latter period, from the twelfth century downwards, we possess fewer memorials, or at least less important ones. One of the most interesting is the picture of S. Ephraim, the pillar saint, in the Museum Christianum at the Vatican, by some ascribed to the tenth or eleventh century, but, as I suspect, more recent. S. Ephraim appears nearly in the centre, seated, like Simeon Stylites, on the capital of his column, while a disciple places his food in a basket let down by a string; in front, his body is stretched out dead—above, the angels carry his soul to heaven. Hermits of the desert are represented in the background, some in their cells among the crags, alone and at work, or conversing with their friends, others carried by their disciples, or crutching along by themselves. One venerable father approaches, riding on a lion, to join in the funeral obsequies. A small picture of the "Ecce Homo" (the third of the three Pietàs enumerated at page 260) reposes on S. Ephraim's breast. There is much merit in this picture. It is

[1] The chapel of S. Isidore contains some curious mosaics, representing his life and martyrdom, on the right wall, and on the left, the translation of his relics by the Doge Michael from Greece to Venice and S. Mark's. They have much merit, but are evidently of Italian design and workmanship, although at a period when the Byzantine influence was still strong at Venice. Of purely Byzantine origin, the incidents in the lives of S. Simon and S. Jude, S. Bartholomew, etc. on the suffits of the great triforium arches of the southern aisle, will reward examination.

said to have been brought from Greece by the celebrated painter Squarcione of Padua, in the fifteenth century.[1]

Another interesting relic is the 'Calendario,' preserved in the Baptistery at Florence, and attributed by Vasari to Gaddo Gaddi.[2] It is purely Greek, however. Among many of the traditional subjects, you will recognise a new one, the Resurrection of Lazarus, of peculiar interest as the germ, if I mistake not, of one of the noblest compositions of Giotto. The 'Calendario' is represented by Vasari and others as mosaic-work of extreme minuteness, but the parts so executed are merely auxiliary to the painting.[3]

Last, among the paintings of the twelfth and following centuries, may be mentioned the miraculous and dusky Madonnas attributed to S. Luke, some of which display not a little dignity and even beauty.

But perhaps the noblest testimony to the revival under the Comneni is afforded by the designs on the Dalmatica, or sacerdotal robe commonly styled "Di Papa San Leone," preserved in the sacristy of S. Peter's—said to have been embroidered at Constantinople for the coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor of the West, but fixed by German criticism as a production of the twelfth, or the early part of the thirteenth century. The Emperors, at least, have worn it ever since, while serving as deacons at the Pope's altar during their coronation-mass. You will think little of it at first sight, and lay it aside as a piece of darned and faded tapestry, yet I would stake on it, alone, the reputation of Byzantine art. And you must recollect too that embroidery is but a poor substitute for the informing hand and the lightning stroke of genius.

It is a large robe of stiff brocade, falling in broad and unbroken folds in front and behind,—broad and deep enough for the Goliath-like stature and the Herculean chest of Charlemagne himself. On the breast, the Saviour is represented in glory, on the back the Transfiguration, and on the two shoulders Christ administering the Eucharist to the Apostles.

The composition on the breast is an amplification of Number V (as above enumerated) of the Personal traditional

[1] It has been engraved in Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 82, and in Pistolesi's great work on the Vatican, tom. iii. pl. 76. The artist's signature is Ἐμμανουήλου τοῦ Τρανφούρναρι χείρ.

[2] Not indeed in direct terms, but it is understood so by the Editors.

[3] See the *Thesaurus Vett. Diptych.*, tom. iii. p. 328 *sqq.*

compositions. In the centre of a golden circle of glory, "Jesus Christ the Resurrection and the Life," robed in white, with the youthful and beardless face, his eyes directly looking into yours, sits upon the rainbow, his feet resting on the winged wheels [1] of Ezekiel, his left hand holding an open book, inscribed with the invitation, "Come, ye blessed of my father,"—his right raised in benediction. At the four corners of the circular glory, resting on them, half within it, half without, float the emblems of the four Evangelists; the Virgin and the Baptist stand to the right and left of Our Saviour, the Baptist without, the Virgin entirely within the glory, the only figure that is so placed; she is sweet in feature and graceful in attitude, in her long white robe.

Above Our Saviour's head, and from the top of the golden circle, rises the Cross, with the crown of thorns suspended upon it, the spear resting on one side, the reed with the sponge on the other, and the sun and moon looking down upon it from the sky.

The heavenly host and the company of the blessed form a circle of adoration around this central glory; angels occupying the upper part, emperors, patriarchs, monks and nuns the lower; at the extremity, on the left side, appears Mary Magdalen, in her penitence—a thin emaciated figure, imperfectly clothed, and with dishevelled hair.

In the corners, below this grand composition, appear, to the right, S. John the Baptist, holding the cross, and pointing upwards to Our Saviour; to the left, Abraham seated, a child on his lap, and resting his hand on another by his side.

The background and scene of the whole composition is of blue, to represent heaven,—studded with stars, shaped like the Greek cross.

The Transfiguration, which corresponds to this subject on the back of the robe, is the traditional composition, only varied by the unusual shape of the vesica piscis which encloses Our Saviour. The two compositions representing the Institution of the Eucharist, on the shoulders, are better executed and more original. In each of them, Our Saviour, a stiff but majestic figure, stands behind the altar, on which are deposited

[1] In the 'Manuel' of Dionysius, recently published by M. Didron (pp. 71, etc.), these winged wheels are interpreted as signifying the order of angels commonly distinguished as Thrones. Their interpretation as the Covenants of the Law and Gospel, sanctioned by S. Gregory the Great in his Homilies, is certainly more sublime and instructive.

a chalice and a paten or basket containing crossed wafers. He gives, in the one case, the cup to S. Paul, in the other the bread to S. Peter,—they do not kneel, but bend reverently to receive it; five other disciples await their turn in each instance,—all are standing.

I do not apprehend your being disappointed with the 'Dalmatica di San Leone,' or your dissenting from my conclusion, that a master, a Michael Angelo I would almost say, then flourished at Byzantium.

It was in this Dalmatica—then *semée* all over with pearls and glittering in freshness—that Cola di Rienzi robed himself over his armour in the sacristy of S. Peter's, and thence ascended to the palace of the Popes, after the manner of the Cæsars, with sounding trumpets and his horsemen following him—his truncheon in his hand and his crown on his head—"terribile e fantastico," as his biographer describes him—to wait upon the legate.[1] Rienzi's glory was scarcely more transient in the eyes of history than that of this revival under the Comneni.[2]

But I need not comment on the injustice of such oblivion, and will only add, that the Byzantine painters established schools in all the principal towns of Italy, and that in repeated instances their Italian scholars rose to an eminence entitling them to distinct classification as precursors of Giotto,—that such, more especially, was the reputation of the Byzantine mosaicists settled at Venice in the middle of the thirteenth century, that their assistance was courted by a special mission from Florence,—that through the influence of the Byzantine revival, a school of native mosaicists arose in Italy, which produced great men and able artists,—that mosaic, however, was found insufficient for the expanding ideas of the people, and gradually died out, superseded by the superior facilities of painting,—that the schools of painting, founded by the Greeks in Italy, lingered on long after Giotto, strong in the affection of the populace[3]—more especially at Venice, always Orientally disposed, and where a manufactory of Madonnas and paintings

[1] Cited from the original life, printed in Muratori's 'Antiquit. Ital. Medii Ævi,' tom. iii, by M. Sulpice Boisserée, in his essay 'Ueber die Kaiser-Dalmatica,' etc.

[2] My friend Herr M. Wittmer (an artist full of enthusiasm for the *école mystique*), executed for me a most admirable facsimile of the Dalmatica in large sheets, the central 'Gloria' in gold, silver and ultramarine, according to the original colours,—the effect most beautiful.

[3] A Greek succession flourished till comparatively recent times at Otranto.

in the ancient style has been kept up till recent times—not merely for the Greek residents, but for Italian natives of the state,[1]—that the revival, meanwhile, in the East gradually declined under the depressing influence of the Latin conquest in 1206, and that of the Turks in 1453,—and that art has now for nearly four centuries been stationary in Greece, treading, for the part, painfully and fearfully in the "old paths" of tradition, although artists of no slight merit have occasionally risen, to show that genius cannot become wholly extinct in Greece.[2]

You are not likely as yet to visit the East, but perhaps the most curious gallery existing of genuine Byzantine paintings is the church of Mount Sinai, where pictures of great antiquity alternate with others produced but yesterday in Greece and Russia. Meanwhile a visit to the church of S. Giovanni de' Greci, belonging to the Greeks at Venice, will amply satisfy any curiosity you may feel as to the ordinary character of art among the existing descendants of Apelles.

In conclusion :—Casting an eye over the terrestrial globe, the Painting of Byzantium may be described as coextensive with her Church, though not with her Architecture, the Mahometans, in adopting the latter, having repudiated the former. Still, her ancient compositions have enjoyed a publicity and a vogue unparalleled by the art of any other people. They have spread indeed beyond the limits of her ecclesiastical

[1] I possess a Madonna, of considerable beauty, of this description, purchased at Brescia many years ago, when travelling, a boy, in Lombardy, under the fond impression that it was an original from Byzantium.

[2] Among these may be reckoned George Markos of Argos, and his pupils, who executed, in 1735, the frescoes in the church of the great convent of Salamine, and which I regret that I have not seen. "Aujourd'hui," says M. Didron, "l'école d'Argos est éteinte, et presque tous les peintres Chrétiens de la Grèce se sont réfugiés au Mont Athos."—*Icon. de Dieu*, p. 217.[1] That sublime conception, the 'Angel of the Mighty Council,' frequently depicted on the conchæ and cupolas of Greek churches, representing Our Saviour, winged, descending upon the earth to fulfil the decree for the salvation of Man passed in Council within the bosom of the Trinity, is to be attributed, I believe, to some one of these more recent artists of Byzantium.

[1] In the Introduction and Notes to the 'Manuel d'Iconographie Chrétienne,' more recently published (1845), M. Didron furnishes many interesting particulars respecting the school of Athos, which he derives, as stated in a previous note, from Panselinos of Thessalonica, an artist of the eleventh century. Formerly, he says, it gave masters and pupils to Constantinople and Venice, Thessalonica and Athens; "aujourd'hui encore elle en fournit à toute la Russie, à la Grèce, et à la Turquie Chrétienne.' —*Introd.*, p. xlvi.

dominion. The heathen temples of Nubia, consecrated as churches in the early ages, and which might still serve as such were any Christians left to worship in them,[1] are covered with her frescoes, and they are found fresh and of yesterday's execution in the remotest districts of Abyssinia—the very same style, the very same compositions, that, in an opposite direction, are daily reiterated on the banks of the Don and the Neva.[2] But it was in Italy, the heir of the younger as of the elder Greece, that her spirit was destined to receive, in painting as in architecture, that due development which imperfect mechanical powers denied to her own efforts. The aged and decrepit forms, the skeleton of Byzantine art, were necessarily to be flung away, but the purer spirit underwent no change—or rather did pass through a metamorphosis of a most ennobling character. It is not here that I wish to discriminate the different characters of the Italian schools, but I may observe that, while the Historical compositions of Byzantium were adopted, in outline only, by the dramatic Florentines, to be modified, filled up and reinspired from their own original resources of thought and association, her peculiar personal subjects, and her general tendency to Symbolism and mystic contemplation, found a congenial home among the more enthusiastic Sienese and Umbrians, who seem ever to have felt warmer sympathy, and recognised a more immediate relationship with the East, than their compatriots of the Val d'Arno.

[1] Christianity lingered in Nubia till the fourteenth century. It probably died out through the non-supply of priests. Father Protais, a Capuchin missionary, of the seventeenth century, and the first modern writer who takes notice of Thebes, gives a melancholy account of the "pauvres brebis sans pasteur"—the Christians, then living there, several of whom, he adds, "ont passé cinquante années sans confession et sans communion, n'ayant ni église ni prêtre."—*Thevenot, Relations de divers Voyages curieux*, etc. 1696, tom. ii. part 2.

[2] I have sometimes been tempted to ascribe the origin of Japanese and Chinese design, but more especially the former, to the Byzantine; but the resemblances are not greater perhaps than might arise in the ordinary course of independent development. The landscapes, for instance, on Japanese cabinets, especially when architecture and bridges are introduced, strikingly resemble the frescoes of Pompeii. Between the paintings of the Buddhists and those of the Byzantine Greeks a stronger resemblance is observable, and communication (through the Nestorians) may be reasonably supposed; but it was certainly less than would be presumed at first, on comparing them. The painting of the Hindoos is more original and independent, and, like some developments of their architecture, is often extremely elegant and tasteful. But I must not diverge from the subject of Christian Art.

CHRISTIAN ART OF MODERN EUROPE.

PERIOD I.

ARCHITECTURE.

	PAGE
I. LOMBARD AND GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE . .	295
II. SCULPTURE OF THE LOMBARDS, ETC. . .	321
III. NICCOLA PISANO AND HIS SCHOOL . . .	357
IV. GIOTTO AND HIS SCHOOL . . .	*Vol.* II. 3

LETTER I.

LOMBARD AND GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE.

In the preceding Letters, I have attempted to give you some idea of the Christian Art of Greece and Rome, the aged sovereigns of the elder world; in these that follow, I shall do my best to show you how their heirs, the youthful Europeans, availed themselves of the legacy, threw their own glowing life into the ideas and forms thus bequeathed to them, and either combined them afresh, or created new ones out of the riches of Nature and of their own Souls.

I shall divide the ensuing Series into five grand divisions or periods,—the First, and of longest duration, extending from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the fifteenth century, during which Spirit, or Christianity, ruled supreme, and found its chief expression in Architecture,—the Second, embracing the latter half of the fifteenth century, during which Christianity battled with the pride of Intellect and resuscitated paganism, while Sculpture was perfected in the struggle,—the Third, extending from the close of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century, which witnessed the results of the struggle, good and bad, in the successive triumphs of Spirit, Intellect, and Sense, Expression, Design, and Colouring, in Painting, the peculiar handmaid and exponent of Christianity,—the Fourth, expiring with the eighteenth century, signalised by the various attempts to regenerate Art through Sense and Intellect, Colour and Design,—and the Fifth and last, dating from the commencement of the present century, characterised by a similar revival through Spirit, or Expression, and a recurrence to first principles, to the Christianity and Nationality of Romano-Teutonic Europe.

The rise and progress of Sculpture and Painting will of course demand their due consideration under the first as under the later of these periods; meanwhile it is to the development and character of the Lombard and Pointed, or Gothic Architecture, both in Italy and the North, that I address myself in the present Letter.

Section I.—Lombard Architecture, South and North of the Alps.

I need not remind you that the freedom of the North, the civilisation of the South, and the Christianity of the East, are the three elements from the commixture of which the character and history of Europe spring, and that Italy was the field where those elements first met, and began to amalgamate.[1]

The invasion of the Lombards, in 568, may be considered as the last preliminary step to this consummation. They were a noble race, of pure morals, and bold, manly, generous and even romantic character, presenting the strongest possible contrast to the corrupt and degenerate Romans, whom they held personally in utter contempt, and refused to mingle with on the familiar footing of their predecessors, the Goths. It was therefore from the Church rather than the natives of Rome and Italy that they derived their civilisation, and to the Popes accordingly they paid a free but a zealous deference, which rendered them invaluable adherents in any course of policy the latter might find it expedient to pursue.

The Papacy, at the commencement of the seventh century, was in a very different position from that in which Constantine had left her. In doctrine, indeed, she was but little changed, for almost every peculiar dogma of Catholicism had been either openly asserted, or indirectly implied, before the close of the fourth century. But during the last three hundred years the seed of spiritual despotism, wrapt up in the acorn of the Nicene Church, had silently but rapidly shot up into a mighty tree, and before the death of the First Gregory not only had the theory been matured and the principles laid down by which ecclesiastical supremacy was to be claimed and established over the Kings of the earth, but the minds of men had been

[1] Influentially, I mean, on the future; the civilisation of the Visigoths in Spain was earlier, but led to nothing.

prepared to acquiesce in the usurpation. An opportunity for asserting that supremacy was not long in presenting itself.

The propriety of the adoration of images, an abuse at that time of almost universal prevalence in Christendom, had been long agitated in the Greek Church. In 726, the Emperor Leo III. declared it unlawful by a special edict, which he followed up by an indiscriminate destruction of images throughout his Eastern dominions, calling at the same time on the Popes in Italy, his subject province, to follow his example of reformation. Gregory II., then occupant of the papal chair, refused obedience, and, finding his remonstrances unattended to, proceeded—under the sanction of a decree subscribed by a synod of ninety-three Italian bishops, and backed by the ready swords of the Lombards—to excommunicate in one sweeping anathema, the whole body of the Iconoclasts, the Emperor himself not excepted, and to pronounce Italy politically independent of the Byzantine Empire. It was a step, before God and man alike, indefensible—at once schismatical and rebellious. But—from that hour a new star dawned on the horizon, infant Europe was separated from the womb, life awoke in her, the warm blood was sent thrilling through her veins, that impulse was communicated to which she owes her growth and development, her virtue and her glory—a crime was, in short, overruled by providence to the good of mankind.

The results of the measure were not so immediately apparent as might have been expected. The revolution was peaceably effected. Greece, after a short struggle, acquiesced in it, and long continued to retain her maritime dependencies, and even a nominal supremacy in the peninsula, the policy of the Popes leaving a shadow of power to the Emperors, after securing the substance to themselves. Under their rule in the South, and that of the Lombards North of the Apennines, and after the extinction of the latter dynasty, under that of Charlemagne and his Carlovingian successors, Italy enjoyed repose and tranquillity till the middle of the ninth century, when a period of anarchy and misery ensued for a hundred and fifty years.

It is from the settlement of the Lombards and the Iconoclast rupture therefore, and not from the reign of Charlemagne, that the life of Modern Europe, civil and ecclesiastical, properly dates,[1] and we find, accordingly, in the Lombard Archi-

[1] See for the character of the Lombards, Gibbon, chap. 45, and for

tecture and Sculpture, the earliest voice and expression of that life—witnessed in the former by new combinations and a more ample development of the spirit of symbolism—in the latter by a profusion of imagery, remarkable even before the quarrel, but absolutely redundant after it. We will discuss these sculptures in a future letter; meanwhile I shall describe as briefly as possible the principal characteristics of the new architecture, as exhibited in the Lombard Cathedral.

These characteristics are of various origin, but easily discriminated. The three most prominent features, the eastern aspect of the sanctuary, the cruciform plan, and the soaring octagonal cupola, are borrowed from Byzantium, the latter in an improved form, the cross with a difference, the nave, or arm opposite the sanctuary, being lengthened so as to resemble the supposed shape of the actual instrument of suffering, and form what is now distinctively called the Latin Cross. The crypt and absis, or tribune, are retained from the Roman basilica, but the absis is generally pierced with windows, and the crypt is much loftier and more spacious, assuming almost the appearance of a subterranean church. The columns of the nave, no longer isolated, are clustered so as to form compound piers, massive and heavy—their capitals either a rude imitation of the Corinthian, or, especially in the earlier structures, sculptured with grotesque imagery.[1] Triforia, or galleries for women, frequently line the nave and transepts. The roof is of stone, and vaulted. The narthex, or portico, for excluded penitents, common alike to the Greek and Roman churches, and in them continued along the whole façade of entrance, is dispensed with altogether in the oldest Lombard ones,[2] and when afterwards resumed, in the eleventh century, was restricted to what we should now call Porches, over each door, consisting generally of little more than a canopy open at the sides, and supported by slender pillars, resting on sculptured monsters. Three doors admit from the western front; these are

the Iconoclast rupture, chap. 49.—"La conquête des Lombards," says Sismondi, "fut, en quelque sorte, pour l'Italie, l'époque de la renaissance des peuples. Des principautés indépendantes, des communautés, des républiques, commencèrent à se constituer de toutes parts; et un principe de vie fut rendu à cette contrée, long-temps ensevelie dans un sommeil léthargique."—*Hist. des Republ. Ital.* tom. i. p. 9.

[1] Sometimes indeed, but rarely, the insulated column of the early church is restored.

[2] A significant fact, and prophetic of the tendency and the destinies of the Medo-Persian or Teutonic *versus* the Hindoo element of Europe.

generally covered with sculpture, which frequently extends in belts across the façade, and even along the sides of the building. Above the central door is usually seen, in the later Lombard churches, a S. Catherine's-wheel window. The roof slants at the sides, and ends in front, sometimes in a single pediment, sometimes in three gables answering to the three doors; while, in Lombardy at least, hundreds of slender pillars, of every form and device—those immediately adjacent to each other frequently interlaced in the true lover's knot, and all supporting round or trefoliate arches—run along, in continuous galleries, under the eaves, as if for the purpose of supporting the roof—run up the pediment in front, are continued along the side-walls and round the eastern absis, and finally engirdle the cupola. Sometimes the western front is absolutely covered with these galleries, rising tier above tier. Though introduced merely for ornament, and therefore on a vicious principle, these fairy-like colonnades win very much on one's affections. I may add to these general features the occasional and rare one, seen to peculiar advantage in the cathedral of Cremona, of numerous slender towers, rising, like minarets, in every direction, in front and behind, and giving the east end, especially, a marked resemblance to the mosques of the Mahometans.

The Baptistery, and the Campanile or bell-tower, are in theory invariable adjuncts to the Lombard cathedral, although detached from it. I have already noticed these buildings, as well as the principal churches built by the Lombards in the old basilica form, under the head of Latin architecture. But I may remark that the Lombards seem to have built them with peculiar zest, and to have had a keen eye for the picturesque in grouping them with the churches they belong to.

I need scarcely add, that the round arch is exclusively employed in pure Lombard architecture.[1]

To translate this new style into its symbolical language is a pleasurable task.

The three doors and three gable ends signify the Trinity, the Catherine-wheel window (if I mistake not) the Unity, as concentrated in Christ, the Light of the Church, from whose Greek monogram its shape was properly adopted.[2] The monsters that support the pillars of the porch stand there as

[1] See, on the subject of the Lombard style, the twenty-second and following chapters of Mr. Hope's 'Historical Essay.'

[2] *Vide supra*, p. 266, *note*.

talismans to frighten away evil spirits. The crypt (as in older buildings) signifies the moral death of man, the cross the atonement, the cupola heaven; and these three, taken in conjunction with the lengthened nave, express, reconcile, and give their due and balanced prominence to the leading ideas of the Militant and Triumphant Church, respectively embodied in the architecture of Rome and Byzantium. Add to this, the symbolism of the Baptistery, and the Christian pilgrimage, from the Font to the Door of heaven, is complete.[1]

Lombard Architecture may thus be likened to a lovely and graceful maiden, in whose countenance the lineaments of both her parents, the high-spirited but practical father, the lofty-souled contemplative mother, are equally recognisable, while those of the latter predominate—yet both are softened and reconciled into harmony by an expression and refinement unborrowed and her own.

It may strike you at first as a discrepancy, that at the

[1] I have confined myself in the text to the popular symbolism, the broad outline, but there was a deeper and more abstruse theory current during the early ages, and which has never perhaps been completely realised. I have nowhere seen it so fully and succinctly stated as by M. Alfred Maury in his 'Essai sur les Légendes Pieuses du Moyen-age,' p. 107:—"Les églises étaient tournées du côté de l'Orient, par allusion à la naissance du Sauveur. . . . Elles étaient placées sur des lieux élevés, comme emblème de la supériorité divine et comme l'intermédiaire entre le ciel et la terre. ('Nostræ columbæ domus simplex, etiam in editis semper et apertis et ad lucem.'—*Tertull. adv. Valent.* c. 2.) Elles comprenaient quatres parties: le portique, la nef, le chœur et le sanctuaire, emblèmes de la vie pénitente, de la vie chrétienne, de la vie sainte et de la vie céleste. En effet, à la porte se trouvaient les pénitents, appelés *audientes*, écoutant, et *prostrati*, prosternés, qui étaient étendus par terre, pendant qu'on faisait la prière sur eux, et qu'on faisait sortir avant l'offrande. Puis venaient les consistants, *consistentes*, qui assistaient dans la nef au divin office, mais sans y participer, droit qui appartenait seulement aux *participantes*. L'*ambo* ou chœur était plus élevé que la nef, comme marquant un degré de vie plus parfait. C'était là que se plaçaient les clercs. L'église avait quatre portes, deux du côté de la nef, nommées *speciosæ portæ*, symbole de la vie terrestre, et deux du côté de la nef, appelées *portæ sanctæ*, symbole de la vie céleste. Le sanctuaire, accessible au seul clergé, était séparé du chœur par un chancel ou balustre, qui empêchait les laïques d'y entrer, et exprimait, d'une façon mystique, la barrière qui sépare le ciel de la terre, et ne s'ouvre que pour celui qui est mort au monde, comme est celui qui se consacre au service des autels. Dans les représentations qui décoraient l'église, la gauche se rapportait à la vie présente, la droite à la vie future. La forme de croix donnée à l'édifice était l'image du Sauveur, l'abside ou chevet indiquait la place où reposait sa tête, les transept formaient les bras, les chapelles placées à l'entour de l'abside étaient peut-être les symboles des rayons de l'auréole. Au reste, les églises furent d'abord construites sur le plan des temples de Salomon et de Zorobabel, qui présentaient déjà une disposition toute mystique (*Cf. Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* lib. x. c. 4), et

moment when the Lombards were preparing to sever themselves from Greece on the question of sculptured images, they should have adopted her architecture as the foundation (for such it is) of their own, in preference to that of Rome, as exhibited in the basilica. But the reason, I think, is obvious. While Sculpture and Painting deal with material objects that demand specific representation, Architecture is the expression of abstract ideas, and must necessarily have recourse to symbolism if she would give them utterance. A cathedral is the embodied idea of the Spiritual Church, and ought to express in the first instance, and reflect back again, the sentiment from which the sculptures and paintings that adorn its walls, as well as the rites that take place within them, derive their significance. Architecture is suggestive, sculpture and painting are positive, and, like the music of nature, blending with the songs of Adam and Eve in Paradise, the three arts, thus combined, give praise to God. But the basilica is far less suggestive, far less symbolical, than the Byzantine edifice, and hence the sympathy always manifested for Byzantium by Lombard architects.[1]

Such was the Architecture which prevailed in Europe, co-extensively with the Latin Church, from the seventh to the close of the eleventh century; while in Italy its rule was prolonged to the thirteenth, and its influence was never

avaient dans leur distribution des rapports généraux avec l'univers.—*Philonis, Vit. Mosis*, lib. 3, c. 2.—*Joseph. Antiq. Jud.* lib. viii. c. 8.—*Cf. Dupuis, Orig. de tous les Cultes*, tom. i. p. 179. Les troix parties principales du temple, le parvis, le saint et le saint des saints répondaient à la terre, à la mer et au ciel. Dans les cathédrales, les roses représentaient aussi les élémens, comme à celle d'Amiens, par exemple. *Gilbert, Descr. de la Cath. d'Amiens*, p. 71. Au midi est la rose qui figure le ciel, l'air, et qui est peinte en rouge; on voit dans les compartiments des archanges et des chérubins. A l'ouest est celle de l'eau ou de la mer; les compartiments offrent des coquillages et des dauphins. Au nord est celle des vents. C'était principalement le portail ou parvis des églises qui était décoré, ainsi qu'on peut le voir encore dans toutes les cathédrales, de répresentations tirées de l'Histoire Sainte et de statues de Saints. . . Le portail des églises offrait . . l'image du paradis, *paradisus*, nom qui fut donné pour cette raison sans doute à l'aire du portail, et qui fut changé plus tard, par corruption, en celui de *parvisium*, parvis."

[1] As symbolical and expressive of emotion, not of definite ideas, Music and Architecture are identical in principle, and distinct, the one from Painting and Sculpture, the other from Poetry, or verse,—and not only distinct, but independent of them to such a degree that, in proportion as they rise to absolute perfection, the addition of words to the one or of subsidiary design to the other, becomes not only unnecessary but obtrusive. The secret of the effect produced by the grand efforts both of Architecture

entirely superseded. Like the Roman and Byzantine styles, it sprang at once to full development in all its essential points, as may be seen in its earliest monument, the venerable church of S. Michele at Padua, which existed as a sanctuary as early as 661.[1]

What chiefly contributed to its diffusion over Europe was the exclusive monopoly in Christian architecture, conceded by the Popes, towards the close of the eighth century, to the masons of Como, then and for ages afterwards, when the title of "Magistri Comacini" had long been absorbed in that of "Free and Accepted Masons," associated as a craft or brotherhood in art and friendship. A distinct and powerful body, composed eventually of all nations, concentring the talent of each successive generation, with all the advantages of accumulated experience and constant mutual communication—imbued, moreover, in that age of faith, with the deepest Christian reverence, and retaining these advantages unchallenged till their proscription in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—we cannot wonder that the Freemasons should have carried their art to a pitch of perfection which, now that their secrets are lost, it may be considered hopeless to attempt to rival.[2] But before treating of the great triumph of their genius, Pointed Architecture, I must point out to your notice a few of the principal monuments of their skill in the earlier Lombard style, existing in Italy and elsewhere.

These fall naturally into two classes, simpler or more rich in their style, according as they belong to the first or second *millennium* of the Christian era, and which may be appropriately described as Early and Late, or Florid, Lombard. Those that rank under the former head are few, comparatively —S. Michele is the oldest; S. Giulia of Brescia and S. Maria of Arezzo, respectively of the eighth and tenth century, are next in importance. But, after the millennium panic, Europe

and Music, in every age and country, appears to lie in their appealing to and engrossing the two most powerful and earliest-developed elements of human nature, Spirit and Sense—the conquest and supremacy of Spirit over Sense generating, in and through them, as in devotion and philosophy, a mystical abstraction or ecstasy far transcending, and even loathing verbal or particular expression. But this independence is not of course reciprocal; Sculpture and Painting, twins of Intellect, rejoice and breathe freest in the pure ether of Architecture, or Spirit, like Castor or Pollux, under the breezy heaven of their father Jupiter.

[1] When Unulfus took sanctuary in it to escape the vengeance of King Grimoaldus.—*Knight's Eccles. Antiquities*, Series I.

[2] See Hope's 'Historical Essay,' chap. 21.

darted forward with new life; the Lombard nobles forsook the country for the towns, and intermarried with the Roman or Latin population—and the result was a new nation, a new rule—Italy and her republics, with all their glory. Pisa led the way. Long celebrated for her maritime achievements against the Saracens, in Sicily and on the coasts of Africa, she added, in 1063, a still brighter leaf to her chaplet by bursting the chain of the port of Palermo, capturing six vessels laden with rich merchandise, and bringing them home in triumph to her native Arno. By an unanimous decree the citizens determined to convert this booty into a cathedral—to surpass all others in size and beauty, and to be at once a thank-offering to heaven, and a perpetual monument to their country's honour. Everything was propitious—the hour was ready with its man, the architect Buschetto, from whose master-mind the plan would seem to have sprung forth at once, complete, clear, and beautiful, like wisdom from the brain of Jupiter; the first stone was laid that same year, and the building was completed before the close of the century, after becoming, long ere it was finished, the model of architecture throughout the Pisan archbishopric.[1] The stately and graceful Duomo of Lucca followed, then that of Siena, and those of Parma, of Modena, of Piacenza, Ferrara, Cremona, and others of lesser renown, in fair and queen-like procession. Most of these were accompanied by their Baptisteries and Campaniles, grouped for the most part most picturesquely, though nowhere with such perfect harmony and beauty as at Pisa, where Cathedral, Baptistery, Leaning Tower, and Campo Santo, with their belt of green untrodden grass, form a group of loveliness unrivalled in Europe—fortunate alike, as it has been prettily expressed, "in their society and their solitude."[2]

To this list must be added the kindred class of Conventual buildings, now becoming very numerous, especially the fairy-like cloisters of S. Zenone at Verona, those of S. Giovanni Laterano and of S. Paolo fuori le mura at Rome, and those of the monastery at Subiaco, all of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,—and a whole category of public palaces and town-halls—temples, one might call them, dedicated to Liberty and

[1] See Morrona's excellent work 'Pisa Illustrata nelle Arti del Disegno,' tom. i. pp. 60, 135, etc. edit. 8vo. He refers, for the exploit alluded to in the text, and the commencement of the Cathedral in the same year, 1063, to the 'Cronica Pisana,' printed in Muratori's great collection, tom. vi. col. 168.

[2] *Forsyth's Italy.*

Commerce, as city after city rose to greatness and glory. Some of these, as at Padua, Piacenza, etc., are of singular beauty, and, in the North of Italy especially, are frequently built of brick, which the Lombards used with a mastery of which, in England, we have no conception; every delicate architectural ornament is fashioned in this unpromising material, and the richness of effect is marvellous. It was even frequently applied to ecclesiastical purposes; the beautiful Duomo of Cremona, with its adjacent dependencies, is entirely of brick; so are the churches of S. Francesco at Pavia and the cloisters of the celebrated Certosa, between that city and Milan. The Palazzo Pubblico at Piacenza, and the palace of the Lombard Dukes at Pavia, are of the same material, and rank among the noblest edifices in Italy.[1] Nor must I forget to mention, as belonging historically, and indeed, in political geography, *de facto* to Italy, the stupendous palace, or rather fortress, of the Popes at Avignon—now, alas! degraded into a barrack[2]—a building by itself in every respect, and the noblest example perhaps anywhere extant of the old feudal architecture of Europe.

Singularly enough, it was at Rome that the Lombard architects, those *protégés* of the Popes, found least employment,—desolate and deserted, the scoff and scorn of Italy during the darker ages, her dwindled population lost in the vast echoing aisles of her seven basilicas, she was overstocked with churches, and had but small occasion for their services. The cloisters of S. Giovanni Laterano and S. Paolo, above mentioned, and the absis of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, and the numerous brick steeples, all of the same pattern, that mingle so picturesquely with temples of heathenry and cupolas of yesterday—pines, palm-trees, and cypresses—reddening in the "sunset's glow" as you gaze around you from the ruined palace of the Cæsars—are the sole monuments that attest their

[1] In most of these later structures the pointed mingles with the round Lombard arch, though they belong, strictly speaking, to the earlier style. The Certosa of Pavia, begun in the Lombard, continued in the Gothic, and ended in the Cinquecento style, is perhaps the most singular medley of this description, and yet most beautiful. —A sketch so brief as this confines me necessarily to the outline of the subject, but it would be easy to point out transitional styles, if they deserve the name, between each of the broad distinctive types of Christian architecture.

[2] Still remaining so, in spite of the eloquent and indignant denunciation of the Comte de Montalembert, in his Letter to Victor Hugo, 1833.—*Du Vandalisme et du Catholicisme dans l'Art*, p. 13. But France is rapidly making amends for past profanation.

skill on the spot where the bulls were dated that sped them on the wings of monopoly throughout Christendom.

North of the Alps, the Lombard Architecture is seen in most perfection at Cologne, the capital of the Carlovingian empire—the early or Simple Lombard, that is to say, as distinguished from the Late or Florid style, which being developed nearly at the same moment with the Early Gothic, was almost entirely confined to Italy. From Cologne as a centre, this Early Lombard spread along the Rhine, and over the North of Europe, gradually undergoing serious modifications or curtailments; it appears in France at the beginning of the eleventh century—in England not till the days of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror, when it became what we usually term the Norman style; in Germany, the belfry was first attached to the side of the church, then to its façade, and finally was elevated, in place of the Byzantine cupola, on the intersection of the cross, thus preparing the way for the Gothic spire—a substitution in which I cannot but recognise that disrelish for contemplation which wrote itself in stone the moment the Teutons had acquired sufficient mechanical skill to create a new style for themselves. Let us take breath—that moment had arrived at the commencement of the twelfth century.

Section 2.—Gothic Architecture North of the Alps.

A new style of Architecture, eminently original, yet duly developed from the Lombard, which immediately preceded it, then appeared, suddenly and simultaneously as a flash of lightning, in almost every country of Europe on this side the Alps—the birth, not, like its predecessor, of one individual people, but of the Teutonic mind in general, as represented in those parliaments of genius, the Lodges of the North—an architecture peculiarly ecclesiastical, more so even than the Lombard, although equally susceptible of adaptation to any civil purpose. Its characteristics, as displayed in the Gothic Cathedral, may be soon sketched, in outline at least—you will find full details in the works of Mr. Hope and Dr. Whewell, writers whom it would be impertinent to praise.

Except in one important point, the general distribution of the church underwent little change. The crypt and the Latin

Cross were retained, but the cupola was suppressed, and its place supplied by a lofty tower, surmounted by a spire. For the absis, or tribune, a deep recess or chancel was substituted, a sort of Holy of Holies, secluding the priest from the people during the performance of the sacrifice of the mass; and a lofty stone screen, symbolical of the transition through death from the Church Militant to the Church Triumphant, and so far akin to the triumphal arch of the basilica, was interposed between the chancel and the nave.[1] On the outside, the three doors of the western façade were fronted by deep porches, lined with imagery and sculpture; occasionally the Catharine-wheel window, or rose, appeared above the central portal, but a large mullioned window more frequently replaced it. Two lofty towers, containing the bells, flanked the façade, and together with the third, over the centre of the pile, were understood to signify the Trinity. Separate Baptisteries were abolished, and a small font was placed within one of the doorways.

I cannot suppress my regret at most of these changes, though I acknowledge that they were inevitable, and that they were amply atoned for by the grand distinguishing feature of the new style—the most prominent, if not the cause of all its peculiarities and beauties — the substitution, namely, of the vertical for the horizontal principle which still lingered in the Lombard architecture, and the consequent universal and exclusive adoption of the pointed instead of the round-headed arch of the ancient Romans.[2] Hence the unlimited power of vaulting, hence the increased height of the roof, hence the lightness and reed-like elasticity of the pier, shooting up into the arch, and so uninterruptedly to the roof, like the flight of an arrow, gradually losing its first impulse, but soaring still when lost to the eye,—hence the enlargement of the space for light, and the idea of tempering its glare by painted glass,—hence the unnumbered beauties, internal and external, of groining, pendant, mullion-window, flying buttress, pinnacle and spire—hence, in short, the life and animation, the vigour and freshness, the exulting consciousness of power, the nature-like luxuriance of tracery and ornament, that pervade the whole pile, and rouse the heart like the roar of a cataract swelling on the breeze amid the shades and sunshine of a

[1] This was almost always surmounted by a rood, or crucifix, attended, to the right and left, by the Virgin and S. John.

[2] It may be said to mark the moment when the Teutonic, or Medo-Persian, took the lead over the Classic or Sanscrit element, in the Intellect of Europe.

forest. And yet all this is the mere surface-shadow of a deeper meaning,—it was in Gothic Architecture that Christian Symbolism reached its consummation, or rather took up and re-expressed the faith and expectations of the Church in a different and more spiritualized point of view. That which in Lombard Architecture is confined to the general outline, extends in Gothic to the minutest details; like each several fact in the Bible or in the Book of Nature, every window, every corbel, every cusp has its mystery; it would require a volume to point out each minute particular, and in a thousand instances individual fancy must interpret what individual fancy first enigmatised. But the upward spring, the vertical tendency, is the key to the whole,—whether, as in the pyramids and obelisks of Egypt, it imply the natural yearning of the human heart to the "blest abodes" of an uncovenanted futurity—or faith, better assured, in the resurrection of the Redeemer and of the Church in his person—or the joyful anticipation of that continual up-springing approximation towards the Fount of Wisdom, the Divine Vision, which we are warranted to look forward to as the bliss of Eternity.

Comparing, in fact, apart from enthusiasm, the two styles of Lombard and Pointed Architecture, they will strike you, I think, as the expression, respectively, of that alternate repose and activity which characterise the Christian life, exhibited in perfect harmony in Christ alone, who, on earth, spent his night in prayer to God, his day in doing good to man—in heaven, as we know by his own testimony, "worketh hitherto," conjointly with the Father—for ever, at the same time, reposing on the infinity of his wisdom and of his power. Each, then, of these styles has its peculiar significance, each is perfect in its way. The Lombard Architecture, with its horizontal lines, its circular arches and expanding cupola, soothes and calms one; the Gothic, with its pointed arches, aspiring vaults and intricate tracery, rouses and excites—and why? Because the one symbolises an infinity of Rest, the other of Action, in the adoration and service of God. And this consideration will enable us to advance a step farther:—The aim of the one style is definite, of the other indefinite; we look up to the dome of heaven and calmly acquiesce in the abstract idea of infinity; but we only realise the impossibility of conceiving it by the flight of imagination from star to star, from firmament to firmament. Even so Lombard Architecture attained per-

fection, expressed its idea, accomplished its purpose—but Gothic never ; the Ideal is unapproachable.[1]

I have said nothing of the theory which accounts for the change of style by the necessity in a Northern climate of avoiding the dome and all flat surfaces, where snow could lodge.[2] Nothing is more likely than that this matter-of-fact

[1] Perhaps men, were their sentiments analysed, would be found to prefer the Classic-Greek or the Gothic Architecture, according as their characteristics are purely Intellectual, or Contemplatively and Actively Spiritual, —and the mind capable of fully comprehending the Gothic would, as a necessary consequence (if unprejudiced), appreciate the Greek more justly than the devotee of the Greek would appreciate the Gothic—inasmuch as Spirit, in the fullest development of Human Nature, includes Intellect. I subjoin, in illustration of the symbolism and the peculiar emotions born of Gothic Architecture, the "Lost Church" of the poet Uhland—founded, I apprehend, on an ancient tradition of the Sinaite peninsula :—

"THE LOST CHURCH.

"Oft in the forest far one hears
A passing sound of distant bells,
Nor legends old nor human wit
Can tell us whence the music swells.
From the Lost Church 'tis thought, that soft
Faint ringing cometh on the wind ;
Once many pilgrims trod the path,
But no one now the way can find.

"Not long since, deep into the wood
I stray'd, where path was none to see ;
Weary of human wickedness,
My heart to God yearn'd longingly.
There, through the silent wilderness,
Again I heard the sweet bells stealing,
Ever, as higher yearn'd my heart,
The nearer and the louder pealing.

"My spirit was so self-indrawn,
My sense with sweetness rapt so high,
That, how those sounds within me wrought
Remaineth yet a mystery.
It seem'd as if a hundred years
Had laps'd while thus I had been dreaming—
When, lo ! above the clouds a space
Free opened out, in sunshine gleaming.

"The heaven was so darkly blue,
The sun so full and glowing bright—
And rose a minster's stately pile,
Expanding in the golden light.
Seemed the clouds resplendently,
Like wings, to bear it up alway,
And in the blessed depths of heaven
Its spired tower to melt away.

"The bells' delicious harmony
Down from the tower in quiverings flow'd,
Yet drew not hand of man the strings,—
They moved but to the Breath of God.
As if upon my throbbing heart
That self-same Breath its influence shed,
So entered I that minster high
With timorous joy and faltering tread.

"Words cannot paint what there-within
Awoke my spirit's ecstasies ;
The darkly-brilliant windows glow'd
With martyrs' pious effigies ;
Into a new and living world,
Rich imag'd forth, I gaz'd abroad,
A world of holy women and
Of warriors of the host of God.

"Down at the altar low I knelt,
Thrilling with awe and holy love—
Heaven and its glorious mysteries
Were pictur'd on the vault above.
But when again I looked up,
Roof, arch and pictur'd vault were gone—
Full opened was the door of heaven,
And every veil had been withdrawn.[1]

"What then, in silent prayerful awe,
Of majesty I saw reveal'd,—
What heard of sound more blissful far
Than aught to human ear unseal'd,
Lies not within the might of words ;
Yet whoso longeth for such good,
Let him take heed unto the bells
That ring in whiseprs through the wood."

[1] Unintentionally, doubtless, Uhland has here used the word (veil) by which the Sooffees of the East express whatever intervenes opposingly between the human soul and union with the Deity. A similar feeling is expressed in the beautiful lines,—

"Whatever passes as a cloud between
The mental eye of faith and things unseen,
Causing that brighter world to disappear,
Or seem less lovely or its hopes less dear,
This is our world, our idol, though it bear
Affection's impress or devotion's air."

[2] Hope's 'Historical Essay,' chap. 35.

expediency suggested the change in the first instance, although, if such was the case, it must be owned that Beauty lost no time in girding Utility with her cestus. But gazing rather more earnestly into the millstone, may we not recognise in the passage from Lombard to Gothic Architecture, that transition from the Repose to the Activity of the Imagination, coupled too with the first stirrings of Reason, which so remarkably characterised the mind of Europe towards the close of the eleventh and beginning of the twelfth century, when the Crusaders, on the one hand, were crowding to Palestine, and the Schoolmen, on the other, were commencing their flight into the seventh heaven of theory and invention—those schoolmen, let me observe, being almost to a man Teutons, or of Teutonic blood (S. Thomas Aquinas himself not excepted), and the prevalence of the Scholastic philosophy in Italy having been almost exactly correspondent, in duration and extent, with that of its sister, the Pointed Architecture in that country —both of them exotics, never thoroughly acclimated? In their death, at least, they were not divided, each of them, as we shall find, having been superseded there nearly at the same moment, in the fifteenth century, when the new anti-papal Reasoning spirit, allying itself with Paganism in its detestation of the corruptions of Imaginative Christianity, found its voice in the philosophy of Macchiavelli, and in the Modern-antique, or Cinquecento, Architecture—from both of which, in theology, morals, politics, literature and art, we are still suffering, even in our "ultima Thule" of Britain. But I must rein in this devil of speculation.

Pointed, or to resume the old conventional and prescriptive epithet, Gothic Architecture,[1] can only be profitably studied North of the Alps; there only has it been duly developed, sympathetically and legitimately, from its fundamental principle. This development has been two-fold—*Generic*, reflecting the progress of the collective mind of Christian Teutonic Europe —*Special*, reflecting that of each individual nation, as modified

[1] See Dr. Whewell's defence of the epithet in his 'Architectural Notes on German Churches,' p. 50.—'Teutonic,' perhaps, in the restrictive sense of the term, would be at once the most comprehensive and exclusive designation; the Italians have always so distinguished it,—as the 'Maniera Tedesca,' or 'Gotico-Tedesca.' But 'Gothic architecture' has become the classic, the prescriptive term, universally understood and accepted by the many, and I should be loath to change it.

in successive ages by its peculiar temperament and institutions. Hence, in Ecclesiastical architecture, the various styles successively prevalent in Germany, Flanders, France, England—those for instance, named Early English, Decorated, Perpendicular and Tudor, in our own island,[1] each of them distinct, and yet akin to corresponding, though not always contemporary varieties in other countries,—hence in Civil, but more especially in Domestic architecture, the peculiar character observable in every old town in Flanders and Germany—in Ghent, Bruges, Antwerp, Cologne—Lübeck to the North, Innspruck to the South—and to name but one more, the most picturesque perhaps of all Teutonic cities, Nuremberg—each, like a faithful mirror, reflecting the aristocratic or democratic tendencies of the spot, yet all expressive of that leading idea, that watchword of the Teutonic race, Individuality and Home,—whilst amid all this apparent confusion, this crossing and intermingling of the lines of life on the hand of art, the great channels of feeling and thought remain unclogged and prominent, the special ranges within the generic, the partial within the universal—the veins report themselves to the arteries, and the arteries to the heart, and that heart is still, as in the old Lombard day, Cologne—where the soul of Charlemagne himself seems to have inspired the architect who conceived the stupendous idea of the Cathedral—still and ever, fragment though it be, the giant's step towards heaven in Gothic Architecture.

But Architecture, as I said above, is symbolical, Sculpture and Painting are positive—dependent, that is to say, on Form, on the possession and correct appreciation of the relics of the elder world, the marbles of Greece and Rome. These were to be found only in Italy. It was in Italy, therefore—yet not till Gothic Architecture had been introduced there from Germany—that Sculpture and Painting revived in earnest; it was from Italy, consequently, that the great impulse was given

[1] First discriminated and named by Mr. Rickman. And see Dr. Whewell's observations, '*Archit. Notes,*' p. 50. —I cannot, however, refrain from referring to a nomenclature advocated by Mr. A. J. B. Hope ('Ecclesiologist,' tom. i. p. 192), which certainly links Architecture with History much more agreeably. He proposes to name the successive styles of English architecture—Saxon, Early Norman, Late Norman, Early Plantagenet (Early English), Middle Plantagenet (Decorated), Late Plantagenet (Perpendicular), Tudor, and Stuart, including under the latter designation, the revival of Gothic Architecture under James. I. and Charles I. The merit of scientific classification of course remains with Mr. Rickman.

to Sculpture North of the Alps, and through Sculpture, to Painting,—Italy, therefore, takes the precedence from henceforth in the history of art, and I shall accordingly devote the remainder of the present letter, and those immediately succeeding it, to the consideration of Gothic Architecture as naturalised in Italy, and extending her wing of fosterage and protection over her new-born sisters, deferring that of the corresponding development of Sculpture and Painting in Germany, to the close of this First and peculiarly Spiritual Period of European Art.[1]

[1] On the question of pure Gothic Architecture let me refer to Mr. Hope's 'Historical Essay,' chap. 32, etc., and Dr. Whewell's 'Architectural Notes,' and also his 'History of the Inductive Sciences,' tom. i. pp. 343, sqq. The works also of Messrs. Rickman, Markland, Bloxham, Britton and Pugin on Gothic Architecture are well known and of great merit, the latter gentleman, especially, entering much more fully into its symbolism and principles as connected with religion. The 'Glossary of Architecture,' of which a new edition has just appeared, is also a mine of information. This latter work, however, and numberless others recently published, tacitly pass over the early Roman, Byzantine and Lombard styles, and assume that Gothic and Christian Architecture are synonymous, and that the ancient Gothic churches of England are precisely in harmony with her existing formularies and faith. I much fear that Mr. Pugin is right—that it is "as utterly impossible to square a Catholic building with the present rites as to mingle oil with water,"—that "those who think merely to build chancels without reviving the ancient faith, will be miserably deceived in their expectation,"—that "the study of ancient church architecture" (in such an exclusive spirit) "is an admirable preparation for the old faith,"—and that "if the present revival of Catholic antiquity is suffered to proceed much farther, it will be seen that either the Common Prayer or the ancient models must be abandoned."—*Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, pp. 130, 137, etc. But what is the alternative? the Meeting-house? By no means. The Church of England is neither Catholic nor Protestant—she does not with the Catholics exalt Imagination and repudiate Reason, nor with the Protestants exalt Reason and repudiate Imagination, but includes them both, harmoniously opposed, within her constitution, so as to preserve the balance of truth, and point out the true 'Via Media' between Superstition on the one hand and Scepticism on the other, thus approximating (in degree) to the Ideal of human nature, Christ Incarnate, of whom the Church is the Body and ought to be the Likeness and the Image. This then is the problem—England wants a new Architecture, expressive of the epoch, of her Anglican faith and of the human mind as balanced in her development, as heir of the past and trustee for the future—a modification, it may be, of the Gothic, but not otherwise so than as the Gothic was a modification of the Lombard, the Lombard of the Byzantine and Roman, the Byzantine and Roman of the Classic Greek, the Classic Greek of the Egyptian. We have a right to expect this from the importance of the epoch, and I see no reason why the Man to create it, the Buschetto of the nineteenth century, may not be among us at this moment, although we know it not.

Section 3.—Gothic Architecture South of the Alps.

It was not till the thirteenth century, long after acquiring the supremacy in Germany, France, and England, that the new style crossed the Alps. Its first appearance is in the conventual church of S. Francis, at Assisi, finished by a German architect in 1230,—beautiful in itself, and still more interest, ing as the cradle of Italian painting. It consists, properly speaking, of two churches, one above the other,—the Upper broad and spacious, preserving the usual form of the Latin cross, but free from side chapels and from every incumbrance, and lighted by broad and lofty windows, cheerful and almost gay in its general appearance—the Lower, gloomy as the grave, which it is designed to imitate; the nave is lined by chapels, dark and obscure like sepulchral recesses, the windows are small, the arches round and low, bending heavily over the shrine of S. Francis, situated in the centre of the transept, and below which again you may descend deeper still, to a subterraneous crypt, or excavation, in which his relics actually repose. Nowhere is the distinctive symbolism of the Lombard and Gothic Architecture more strikingly contrasted, and the whole scheme of decoration seems to have been planned in reference to it. I shall have repeated opportunities of recurring to this, when speaking of the early painters of Pisa and Florence. I may add that the style of the Upper church has extended to the city which has grown up around the monastery; pointed arches are to be seen everywhere, and the place has more of the look of the middle ages than (perhaps) any other in Italy.

But setting aside this church at Assisi, and a few similar structures (of which I may specify the Duomo at Milan, the Ducal Palace at Venice, and S. Giovanni a Carbonara at Naples, all built by German architects in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), few buildings of any importance in Italy present the pure unmingled Gothic of the North.[1] Classical influences, far less propitious to the sym-

[1] Not indeed that these are pure Northern Gothic, except in comparison with those of Italian erection. For Dr. Whewell's criticisms on Milan Cathedral, see his 'Architectural Notes,' p. 34,—still it is a glorious pile. The palace of the Doges exhibits a most curious tinge of the Arabesque or Saracenic. The Gothic influence was strongest at Naples, even during the middle ages, through the Normans and the dynasty of Anjou, closely connected with the North.

bolical than the positive in Art, still lingered there, and necessarily modified it. A new school of architects arose during the latter half of the thirteenth century, and filled Italy with churches and cloisters, public palaces and halls, in a style of much beauty, but superficial and essentially Southern in its character. Niccola Pisano was the founder of this school—the parent of Sculpture and Painting through his judicious use of antiquity, a man of whom in that respect it would be impossible to speak too highly, but whose fame would have stood higher had he adhered strictly to his Transalpine models in Architecture. The church of S. Antony at Padua, part of the Duomo at Pistoja, and the campaniles of that church and of S. Niccolò at Pisa (the latter a most ingenious structure) are works of Niccola,—his son, Giovanni, built the Campo Santo, or cemetery of Pisa, for the reception of the sacred earth brought from Jerusalem by the Archbishop Ubaldo after the expulsion of the Christians by Saladin, the most beautiful cloister perhaps in the world, and, next to the church of Assisi, the principal sanctuary of early Italian painting. In 1279, the year after the Campo Santo was begun, Fra Ristoro, Fra Sisto, and some other Dominican monks, pupils evidently of the same school, laid the first stone of their monastery at Florence, S. Maria Novella; and about five years afterwards, the sculptor Arnolfo, pupil of Niccola, settled there, relinquished sculpture for architecture, and spent the rest of his life in the service of the republic, then in the spring-tide of her greatness, rearing those vast and splendid piles which stamp the fair city with a character so peculiarly her own.[1] His first work was the Ultimo Cerchio, or outer circle, of the walls; in 1284, he commenced that singular building, originally a granary, now a church surmounted by a record-office, the Orsanmichele; the following year, the Loggia de' Priori, now no more; the date of the Palace of the Podestà, now called the Bargello, and used as a public prison—an awful pile, gloomy without and most characteristic within—is less certain, but it was probably built during the years that immediately succeeded. In 1294, he began the Franciscan church of S. Croce, and incrusted the Baptistery with black and white marbles, after a fashion possibly of Saracenic origin, and of which the first example had been set by Buschetto in the Duomo at Pisa. In 1295, he built a fortress in the Val d'Arno, which gave such satisfaction

[1] *Vasari, Life of Arnolfo.*

that he was admitted to the citizenship, and shortly afterwards he seems to have begun the Palazzo Vecchio, the most striking building at Florence, and which certainly gains in character from the popular prejudice which would not permit him to extend its foundations over the site of the demolished palaces of the Ghibelline Uberti—a space still preserved free and unencroached upon, under the name of the Piazza del Gran Duca. Finally, in 1298, according to Vasari, but probably five or six years earlier, he commenced the Duomo, under the responsibility of making it the loftiest, most sumptuous and most magnificent pile that human wit could conceive or labour execute—"the wisest of this city," says the decree, "being of common counsel and consent, that the republic should undertake nothing unless with the determination to carry it forth from idea into performance commensurate with the grandeur of a soul composed of the minds of the whole community united and resolved into one single will and purpose,"—the most ample and fearless commission, surely, ever awarded to man or architect.[1] The building was begun at once, and prosecuted with such vigour, that the three tribunes were already vaulted over at the death of the architect in 1300. Andrea Pisano, Giotto—who reared the beautiful Campanile—and Orcagna successively held the office of *Capo-Maestro*, or chief architect, during the following century, but after the death of the latter it was left unfinished for many years, till the celebrated Brunellesco completed the pile by rearing the cupola, a hundred and fifty years after the death of the first projector, Arnolfo. But the name of Brunellesco announces a new era in architecture, that of the Cinquecento or revived antique: Many intimations of the approaching revolution—of a tendency, that is to say, to relapse into the Lombard, as

[1] The words are as follows, in the 'Libro alle Riformagioni,' for the year 1294. "Atteso che la somma prudenza d'un populo d' origine grande sia di procedere nelli affari suoi di modo, che dalle operazioni esteriori si riconosca non meno il savio, che magnanimo suo operare, si ordina ad Arnolfo capo maestro del nostro comune, che faccia un modello osia di segno della rinovazione di Santa Reparata, con quella più alta e somma magnificenza, che inventar non si possa nè maggiore nè più bella dall' industria e potere degli uomini, secondo che da più savj di questa città è stato detto e consigliato in pubblica e privata adunanza, non doversi intraprendere cose del comune, se il concetto non è di farle corrispondenti ad un cuore, che vien fatto grandissimo, perchè composto dell' animo di più cittadini uniti insieme in un sol volere, molto più doversi ciò, considerata la qualità di quella catedra." From Dr. Ernst Förster's 'Beiträge zur neuern Kunstgeschichte,' *Leipz.* 8vo., 1835, p. 152.

transitional to the Classic—had appeared during the fourteenth century,—the arches of the Campo Santo at Pisa are an instance of this; they are not pointed but round, the delicate tracery being of later insertion; so were those of the Orsanmichele, previous to the intercolumniations being built up,—and such are the three reared with such surpassing grandeur and elegance by Orcagna, in the Piazza del Gran Duca (then del Popolo), as a Loggia for the priors and standard-bearer of the republic,[1] and which similarly have exchanged their original name of Loggia de' Priori, for that of Loggia de' Lanzi, commemorative of the Swiss *lanz-knechts*, or guards of the Medici; they form the most beautiful portico in Italy, and Michael Angelo, on being consulted by Cosmo I. on the decorations of Florence, recommended him to extend them all round the piazza. But for the Gothic cornice, this lovely Loggia might have been cited as one of the earliest specimens of the Cinquecento.[2]

Another branch of the Pisan school had in the meanwhile settled at Siena, nowise behindhand in architectural enterprise during these stirring times. Like Pisa, her predecessor and ally in power, she had commenced her cathedral in the eleventh century, but it had been much longer in hand, and when completed, the façade proved unsatisfactory; it was destroyed, and a new design was obtained from Giovanni Pisano in 1284; Lorenzo Maitani, a Sienese, but evidently of the Pisan school, completed it in 1290, and laid the foundations, that same year, of the equally celebrated Duomo at Orvieto, where he settled definitively, in 1310, at the requisition of the inhabitants, whom he had provoked by his repeated and prolonged absences.[3] His place at Siena was worthily

[1] It is described as the 'Loggia Dominorum Priorum et Vexilliferi,' and 'Loggia Dominorum Priorum,' in contemporary documents, cited by Baldinucci, 'Notizie de' Professori del Disegno, da Cimabue in qua,' tom. ii, p. 142, edit. Manni, Flor. 1767.

[2] This loggia was begun between 1374, in which year the houses on which it stood had not been bought, and 1377, when it was in progress, as appears by documents cited by Niccolini (the poet), in his 'Elogio d' Andrea Orgagna,' Florence, 1816, p. xl.—The poet's estimate of its beauty is not exaggerated; "Alla vista," he says, "di questo portico, il più bello del mondo, rimane il core commosso, l' occhio occupato e soddisfatto, l' unità non vi produce la noia; e quantunque nei pilastri decorati d' un ordine Corintio di barbara maniera, poco il nostro artefice si discosti dallo stile de' suoi contemporanei, pure le modinature, gli aggetti, gl' intagli son così bene adattati alla massa generale, che ne risulta quell' armonica quiete per cui l' anima soddisfatta s' appaga. p. xxiv.

[3] 'Storia del Duomo di Orvieto,' by the Abate Dellavalle, *Rome*, 4to., 1794, pp. 98, 248.

supplied by the brothers Agostino and Agnolo, pupils of Giovanni Pisano, and then rapidly rising in reputation. They had been entrusted, in 1308, with the elevation of that noble pile the Palazzo Pubblico, and were afterwards appointed public architects, in which capacity they served their country for many years, generally working together, though sometimes apart. They were distinguished as sculptors also, but it is as architects that they are thought of at Siena, where every street and almost every house in the older parts of the town recalls their memory—their peculiar and highly picturesque style having been followed by a crowd of nameless, or at least fameless, imitators, till drowned in the universal deluge of the Cinquecento.[1]

These Tuscan-Gothic buildings are fine, unquestionably, more especially those (and I wish to lay an emphasis on the distinction) which are Civil, not Ecclesiastical. As public palaces, nothing can be nobler, they bear the stamp of true grandeur; but as churches, as Gothic churches at least, I can praise them only with a qualification; they are far inferior to their Northern prototypes—the leading idea of the Pointed Architecture is not only never carried out, but seems never even to have been comprehended; S. Croce, S. Maria Novella, are essentially Lombard edifices, the pointed arch occurring as if by chance, the vertical principle snubbed (as it were) whenever it attempts to assert its natural tendency. And were anything wanting to prove how completely the spirit of the active, arrowy Gothic has been misapprehended, it would be enough to remark that in their most admired structures, in their earliest and latest efforts, in S. Antonio of Padua and in the Duomos of Florence, Siena, and Orvieto, Niccola Pisano and his followers wed fire with water, in uniting the pointed arch to the cupola. The consequence is inevitable under such circumstances—the more august member gives the tone of feeling, and subordinates that of less importance, and the pointed arch accordingly either escapes notice altogether, or, if too obtrusive, annoys one by suggesting the semblance of a fop perpetually interrupting the meditations of a philosopher.[2] The very perpetuation,

[1] See Dellavalle's 'Lettere Sanesi,' *Rome*, 3 tom. 4to., 1786, tom. ii, pp. 168 sqq., and *passim*. For the character of this work see a note to Section Third of the following letter.

[2] I know not whether an appeal to

more especially at Florence, of the alternate horizontal courses of black and white marble, the cherished legacy of the Pisan Buschetto, neutralises the vertical principle of Gothic architecture.[1]

The fact was, as I have already indeed shown, that the Italians, ever, as a nation, contemplative rather than dramatic, always sighed for the Roman arch and the Eastern dome, and when, during the early years of the fifteenth century, Brunellesco appeared in the field, with the rules of the old Roman art, and the genius which knew how to apply them, they eschewed the pointed arch and the vertical principle at once and for ever. Independently of the gradual dying away of the Christian and chivalric spirit throughout Europe —so visible in the gradually lower and lower depression of the pointed arch—and independently too of the successive proscriptions of the Freemasons, to which I attach little importance, as they had outlived their usefulness—I cannot but think that an innate physical and intellectual distaste dictated the abandonment of Gothic Architecture in Italy.

I have written this letter with much diffidence, and with the full consciousness that the study of a life would scarcely justify me in speaking on the subject. But the little I have said

the Campanile of Giotto would not be more effectual than argument on this subject. According to the original plan, it was to be surmounted by a spire a hundred and fifty feet high; let the reader stand before it, and ask himself whether, with Michael Scott at his elbow or Aladdin's lamp in his hand, he would supply the deficiency? I think not. Its spirit is thoroughly Lombard.

[1] My unfavourable opinion of 'Italian-Gothic' is chiefly based on what I conceive to be its confusion of ideas, its metaphysical untruth. In a scientific point of view, I doubt not its meriting the praise bestowed upon it by Professor Willis in his 'Remarks on the Architecture of the Middle Ages, especially of Italy' (*Cambr.*, 8vo., 1835), a standard book. Yet Mr. Knight's distaste is expressed still more strongly than my own, and apparently both on the ground of symbolism and science. "In Italy," says that gentleman, "if the vertical principle was adopted, the horizontal principle was not discarded, and the latter was a constant check on the tendencies of the former. The Italian architects, obeying their employers, but obeying with reluctance, never acquainted themselves with the rules, the proportions and the arrangements, through which the Northern architects produced successful results. They worked at random, and consequently made mistakes. They consented to imitate, but they sought no more, and neither caught the spirit of the original, nor struck out new paths of their own. . . . Upon the whole the pointed style in Italy has always the appearance of an exotic plant, permitted to live, and pleasing to a certain degree, but deficient in vigour, and never obtaining the height or the development at which it arrives on the Northern side of the Alps."—*Architectural Antiquities*, etc., Introd. p. ix.

is essential to my purpose of tracing Christian art in the origin and connection of its distinct departments—for it is a fact, that I hope to establish in the course of these Sketches, that Sculpture and Painting, both in the South and in the North, revived in strict alliance with Gothic Architecture—and that Painting, in particular, reached perfection in Italy long indeed after the extinction of that style South of the Alps, but still in the succession of a line of artists, few but faithful, whose sympathies induced them to stand apart from the throng that followed in the triumph of the comparatively anti-Christian Cinquecento. I have sketched, in a word, a bold architectural background; I shall now proceed to introduce group after group till the picture of this opening period of Christian Art be complete.

CHRISTIAN ART OF MODERN EUROPE.

PERIOD I.

ARCHITECTURE.

Development of the Christian Element, Spirit—Lombard and Gothic, or Pointed Architecture—Rise of Sculpture and Painting—Expression.

II. SCULPTURE OF THE LOMBARDS, AND ITALICO-BYZANTINE REVIVALS IN SCULPTURE, MOSAIC AND PAINTING, ANTERIOR TO THE ASCENDENCY OF NICCOLA PISANO.

SECT. 1.—*Sculpture.* SECT. 2.—*Mosaics.* SECT. 3.—*Painting.*

LETTER II.

SCULPTURE OF THE LOMBARDS,

AND ITALICO-BYZANTINE REVIVALS,

IN SCULPTURE, MOSAIC AND PAINTING, ANTERIOR TO THE ASCENDENCY OF NICCOLA PISANO.

From the conclusion of the preceding letter you will naturally expect an introduction in the present to Niccola Pisano, the parent of modern Sculpture and Painting, as developed in alliance with Gothic Architecture. But a transition period must first be noticed, during which the artists of Italy endeavoured to express the new life which stirred in their veins through the types and traditions, and in the style and spirit of the Menologion and the Dalmatica, and in association, for the most part, with that elder Lombard Architecture, which maintained such close affinity and deep sympathy with that of Byzantium. These efforts were, with few exceptions, insulated, and however laudable in themselves, would merit little notice had the mind which conceived, expired in giving them birth. But such was not the case, and the period in question may be not unaptly compared to that which usually intervenes in the life of a poet, between the hour when he first becomes aware of his vocation, and that in which he walks abroad in the conscious might of originality—a period of Imitation, during which he endeavours to invest the bright images and daring thoughts that visit his solitude with the measure, cadence and peculiar phraseology of his most admired predecessors in song,—like a young eaglet gazing on the sun long ere its unfledged pinion enables it to rise from the ground. The productions of that immature period are in later life looked back upon with a smile, yet to the critic and biographer they have their value as documents witnessing

to the intellectual growth of their author. It is under shelter of this analogy that I propose to devote the few following pages to a brief review of the Sculpture, Mosaics and Painting of Italy, immediately antecedent to the new and peculiarly original style introduced at Pisa, Siena and Florence during the latter half of the thirteenth century.

Section 1.—Sculpture.

The Sculpture of this period falls naturally into two subdivisions, strictly correspondent with the two periods, the earlier and the later, of Lombard Architecture. The earlier is the more original. It may be seen in full development on the façade of S. Michele at Pavia—rude indeed to a degree, but full of fire and a living record of the daring race that created it. The archangel trampling down the dragon appears over the central door, S. George similarly victorious, and Jonah vomited by the whale, over those to the right and left; while in the jambs of the arches and in belts running along the walls, kindred subjects are sculptured in every direction and without the least apparent connection—dragons, griffins, eagles, snakes, sphinxes, centaurs—the whole mythological menagerie which our ancestors brought with them from their native Iran,—and these either fighting with each other or with Lombard warriors, or amicably interlaced with human figures, male and female, or grinning and ready to fly at you from the grey walls—interspersed with warriors breaking in horses or following the hounds, minstrels, and even tumblers, or at least figures standing on their heads; in short, the strong impress everywhere meets you of a wild and bold equestrian nation, glorying in war, delighting in horses and the chase, falconry, music and gymnastics—ever in motion, never sitting still—credulous, too, of old wives' stories, and tenacious of whatever of marvellous and strange had arrested their fancy during their long pilgrimage from the East,—for zodiacs from Chaldæa, and emblems of the stirring mythology of Scandinavia, constantly alternate, in these and similar productions, with the delineation of those pastimes or pursuits which their peculiar habits induced them to reiterate with such zest and frequency. But they are rude, most rude; do not mistake me,—I plead only that they are life-like, and speak with a tongue which those who love the Runic rhyme

and the traditions of the North, and feel kindred blood warm in their veins, will understand and give ear to.[1]

Sculptures of similar character, though none, I think, so fiery and original, may be seen in other of the early Lombard churches, and in them too the character and habitual associations of the Lombards may be distinctly read. To the left of the doorway of S. Zenone at Verona, for instance, you may see two warriors charging with lances, and a figure running another through with his sword (appropriate decorations truly for the temple of the God of peace!)—and to the right, King Theodoric (the Dietrich I fancy of the Hildebrand-lay and the Helden-buch), on horseback, chasing the stag with his hounds, and bound, according to the inscription, to Hell, —a version probably, and a very early one, of that truly Teutonic legend, the wild Huntsman.[2] We approximate to chivalry at the Duomo, where the door is guarded by rude

[1] Mr. Knight notices "the very remarkable resemblance existing between the portals of the Italian" (Lombard) "churches and the portals of the oldest churches of Norway. The monsters and the singular mode in which they are combined and interlaced, bear so great a similarity to each other in both places, that the coincidence can hardly be regarded as merely accidental." I shall have occasion hereafter to point out similar resemblances between the Italian-Lombard and the Norman churches in England.—For the sports of the Lombards see Gibbon, chap. 45. The 'Chase' of merry England has its origin in the same remote antiquity, both countries apparently perpetuating in this respect the ancient manners of Iran, as described in the Cyropædia. The beneficial influence of the Chase on our national character has scarcely as yet been adequately appreciated, but it was great, and this we owe to the Norman mixture, for as Somerville says (himself a Norman) in his charming poem, its mysteries as a science were hardly understood

> "till, from Neustria's coasts,
> Victorious William to more decent rules
> Subdued our Saxon fathers, taught to speak
> The proper dialect, with horn and voice
> To cheer the busy hound."

—Boxing, on the other hand, the influence of which, in its rules of fair play, has been scarcely less beneficial than that of the Chase, would seem to be purely Saxon. Prize-fighting is to the one what *battues* are to the other—corruption and degradation—slaughterous, unmanly, and unworthy of that noble compound of Saxon and Norman, the Englishman. Of the mystic animals introduced in these sculptures, the griffin is peculiarly Oriental, and may be seen to this day among the ruins of Persepolis. The eagle too is not of Roman but Scandinavian and Iranian ancestry; originally, it would appear, emblematic of the omnivision of the Deity. As a commentary on this love of the monstrous and the marvellous, I may refer to the 'Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus' of Olaus Magnus, especially the edition with woodcuts, printed at Rome in 1555.

[2] From another inscription the sculptures of this portal appear to be by artists named Nicholas and William. See the description of S. Zenone in Murray's admirable Handbook for Northern Italy.

statues of Roland and Oliver, paladins of Charlemagne,—the sword of the former inscribed with its redoubted name, Durindarda.[1]

Another peculiarity of this first epoch of Lombard sculpture is the grotesque imagery introduced into the capitals of the columns, or piers, within the church, and exhibiting the same monsters, aerial, aquatic and terrestrial, that decorate the exterior walls; this, however, was gradually disused, and in the later Lombard architecture the capitals are usually rude imitations of the Corinthian.

In commencing the second millennium, we find an improvement in Sculpture, coincident with that in Architecture. Its first appearance is in the monsters which it now became the fashion to introduce in the porches of churches, for the pillars that supported their roofs to rest upon,—partly for ornament, and partly, as I said before, as talismans or guardians, to frighten away evil spirits. Griffins and lions, the former implying the union of the divine and human nature in the person of Christ, the latter the strength and watchfulness of the Church, appear most frequently in this position, couched and grasping in their paws, or talons, wolves, serpents and similar beasts of prey, typical of Satan. They are generally well executed, often admirably. Among the finest in this style are the two lions of the porch of S. Cyriaco at Ancona; they are of red marble, and full of spirit and fire—most masterly, both in conception and execution; the one grasps a ram, the other a large snake, which bites him, however, on the breast. Sometimes these monsters were set up on the roofs of cathedrals; the bronze Hippogryph, once perched on the East end of that of Pisa, but now translated to the Campo Santo, is an instance of this.[2] In process of time the different states of Italy adopted them as

[1] Dramatic representations, however, of sacred subjects are by no means excluded from the Sculpture of the Lombards, but they generally want that impress of national character which would redeem their rudeness. The most interesting display of these is to be seen at Milan in the *palliotto*, or shrine of S. Ambrose, executed by Wolfinus (Wolfing, probably, in the original German), who describes himself as a "magister faber," or master smith, a little before the middle of the ninth century. Having been prevented from seeing it when last at Milan, I must refer to *Cicognara, Storia, della Scultura*, tom. i. p. 163, and *Agincourt, Sculpture*, pl. 26, and corresponding text.

[2] Theories innumerable have been broached regarding this creature, the Chimæra and puzzle of Pisa. See Morrona's 'Pisa Illustrata,' tom. i. p. 320, ed. 8vo., and Cicognara, tom. i. p. 187.

their crests,[1] and sculptured them at the doors of their town-halls and public buildings; the fashion gradually spread over Europe, and is retained to this day in the supporters of the heraldic escutcheons of kings and noblemen. Heraldry is, in fact, the last remnant of the ancient Symbolism, and a legitimate branch of Christian Art; the griffins and unicorns, fesses and cheverons, the very tinctures or colours, are all symbolical,—each has its mystic meaning, singly and in combination, and thus every genuine old coat of arms preaches a lesson of chivalric honour and Christian principle to those that inherit it,—truths little suspected now-a-days in our Heralds' Offices!

But with the exception of these mystic watchers, this Second period of Lombard Sculpture, or as I should now more correctly term it, this Sculpture of the Freemasons, was characterised by a gradual abandonment of the purely Teutonic element, the monstrous imagery of the earlier age, and a more studious imitation of Byzantine or ecclesiastical models. The point of transition may be fixed at Modena, where the chisel of Wiligelmus (William), an artist highly celebrated at the beginning of the twelfth century, has impartially illustrated the history of the antediluvian world, the Passion of Our Lord, the legend of S. Gimignano, and, in one singular bas-relief, the exploits of Arthur of Britain—the grotesque being everywhere abandoned for the serious, yet the serious as yet unennobled by a purer design or loftier expression; while the artist seems still to have sought for originality apart from the Byzantine compositions.[2] A closer adherence to these is evinced in the vast bas-relief of the Last Judgment,

[1] The whole series are represented in mosaic on the pavement of the Cathedral at Siena—to be noticed hereafter.

[2] The bas-relief representing King Arthur decorates a doorway near the Campanile. The story of S. Gimignano, bishop of Ravenna, will be found above a small door on the southern side of the Cathedral, opening into the nave. The scenes represented are, his journey to Constantinople—the storm that assailed his vessel after embarkation, and which, on being awakened, like Our Saviour, he quieted by a command—his healing the daughter of the Emperor Jovian, for which he had been summoned from Ravenna—his reception from the Emperor of a rich chalice as an offering of gratitude—his interview with Attila, whom he saluted as the Scourge of God—and his funeral obsequies. I cannot say much for these sculptures. But those above and between the three doors of the principal façade, are not void of merit, and the Sacrifice, especially, of Cain and Abel, to the right of the principal entrance, is remarkable for a figure with its hands tied behind its back, kneeling on one knee before our Saviour, possibly a personification of human nature bound with sin and corruption since the Fall. Finally, in

executed a few years later on the façade of the Cathedral at Ferrara; the execution is, however, little, if at all, superior. But a decided revival, however faint, is perceptible in the sculptures of Biduino, over the door of the Baptistery at Pisa,[1] and though the bronze gate cast by his contemporary, the still more celebrated Bonanno, in 1180, for the Cathedral of Pisa, was destroyed by fire in the sixteenth century, a similar one, executed by that artist six years afterwards for that of Monreale, in Sicily, still exists, and, judging by the engravings in the folio of the Duca di Serradifalco and the 'Storia della Pittura Italiana' of Rosini,[2] amply vindicates his improvement on the style of his predecessors. In composition, Bonanno adheres closely to the traditional subjects of Byzantium, but intersperses a few of the Lombard monsters in the foliage and ornaments.[3]

Bonanno, it has been conjectured, may have been Niccola's first instructor; be that as it may, there can be no doubt that he prepared the way for him, that he was his lineal ancestor in art, and that in Sculpture as in Architecture, the honour of revival, South of the Alps, rests with Pisa.

Nevertheless, an artist existed contemporary with Bonanno, isolated and without succession, to whom I should assign the palm of superiority over every sculptor of Italy anterior to the great Niccola. I allude to Benedetto degli Antelami, of Parma, whose bas-relief of the Deposition is preserved in the Duomo. It is beautiful in composition (slightly varied from the Byzantine), full of expression, and far less rude in workmanship than one would expect from the period when it was

the chapel at the extremity of the Southern nave (lateral to the elevated choir), are the series of subjects representing the Passion of Our Lord, very rude, but occasionally spirited, as in the groups representing Our Saviour waking the Apostles, and his Arraignment before Pilate—where his figure is expressive and dignified, although the face is very inferior.—For a specimen of Wiligelmus, see Cicognara, tom. i. tav. 7.

[1] See Cicognara, tom. i. tav. 7.

[2] See the work by the patriotic Duke, entitled 'Del Duomo di Monreale e di altre Chiese Siculo-Normanne Ragionamenti Tre,' Palermo, fol. 1838, tav. 4, and tom. i. p. 162 of the 'Storia,' etc., by the learned and accomplished Professor Rosini of Pisa.

[3] There is another very curious bronze door at Benevento, which I know only by the engravings of Ciampini, who considers it of the end of the eleventh, or beginning of the twelfth century. — *Vett. Monimenta*, tom. ii. p. 24, sqq. Some of the compositions evince originality; the devil is represented in human shape, as by the Byzantines,—but my impression from the style is, that it is of Italian workmanship. The Hon. Keppel Craven, speaks of this door as "sculptured with considerable skill." —*Tour through the Southern Provinces of Naples*, 4to. p. 27.

executed, 1178,—probably in the youth of the artist.[1] In the sculptures of the adjacent Baptistery, built from his designs many years afterwards, his mind, if not his hand, may be recognised everywhere, within and without, in an exuberance of fancy and allegory akin to the earlier age of S. Michele rather than the commencement of the thirteenth century, yet admirably in keeping with the peculiar character of the architecture with which it is associated. So warm indeed was the enthusiasm excited by these sculptures, that Fra Salimbene, one of the old chroniclers of Parma, mentions that his father, debarred by extreme old age and decrepitude from evincing his patriotism in any other manner, sat daily from morning to night in front of the Baptistery, while in the course of erection, in order to prevent idle children from injuring them.[2] Incidents of this description are not uncommon in the early history of the arts in Italy.[3]

Such was the state of Italian Sculpture at the period when Lombard was superseded by Gothic Architecture South of the Alps. Bonanno and Antelami were men of genius, and had they lived fifty years later would have made themselves an immortal name; but they had not the advantages of their great successor, or possibly that sure tact and prophetic instinct by which he struck out and applied the master principle of Christian Art might have been anticipated.

I have only to add, that no sooner had the school of Niccola Pisano firmly established itself in Italy, than it attracted to itself and absorbed every other throughout the peninsula,—and that the Northern origin of the majority of the names, above enumerated, of early Italian sculptors—as well as of those omitted as of less importance (as Gruamonte and Enrico,

[1] It will be found in the third chapel to the right of the nave.

[2] *Cicognara*, tom. i. p. 297.—Among the more interesting of these sculptures are the bas-relief in the lunette over the Southern door, and the statues of the twelve months, and two supernumerary figures, Youth (apparently) and Age, in the interior. The Baptistery is said to have been commenced in 1196.

[3] With the specimens of this early revival, mentioned in the text, may be associated the statues of Our Saviour and the Apostles, now ranged along the Southern aisle of S. Zenone, at Verona—very stiff, and a family likeness runs through the heads, the same type, with a peculiar under-jaw and projecting beard, that appears in some of the old pictures in the Palazzo del Consiglio—yet full of solemn expression, with the drapery broad and flowing, as if through a reminiscence or study of the antique. The SS. Matthew, Bartholomew, Andrew and Philip, struck me most.

who worked at Pistoja, Rodolfino, pupil of Gerardo Pisano, also employed there, M. Roberto of Lucca, Gerardo and Anselmo, who sculptured the bas-reliefs of the Porta Romana at Milan,[1] etc. etc.), affords a strong presumption in support of the opinion that the intellectual life of Modern Europe, South as well as North of the Alps, is essentially Teutonic.[2]

Section 2.—Mosaics.

I now turn to the Mosaics of this period of imperfect revival.

I mentioned in a former letter that the Byzantine revival under the Comneni extended its influence into Italy, and that the mosaicists imported thither during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries educated Italian pupils, or rather communicated that impulse to the native genius which led it to seek distinction in the same path—a path, you will recollect, till then untrodden by the artists of the West, mosaic-work having, from the time of the Romans, remained an exclusive monopoly of Greece.

Of these pupils[3] three stand pre-eminent and deserve our utmost respect, Fra Giacomo (or, by abbreviation, Mino) da Turrita, of Siena, a Franciscan friar—Andrea Tafi, of Florence —and Gaddo Gaddi, of the same city, the friend alike of Tafi and of Cimabue, but disciple, strictly speaking, of neither, although he worked in company with the former, and may have profited in design by the example of the latter. Each of these artists, in fact, learnt of the Greeks independently of the other, and for a great part of their lives they were all three contemporary.

Fra Giacomo was the eldest; he was probably born towards the close of the twelfth century. His earliest work is the mosaic of the tribune of the Baptistery at Florence, commenced, as the inscription informs us, in 1225,[4] and in which the

[1] These mark perhaps the lowest degradation of art in Italy. See a specimen, engraved, in Cicognara, tom. i. tav. 7.

[2] See Cicognara's very interesting chapter, the second of the third book of his great history.—Not that he would agree in the conclusion in the text.

[3] The earliest ascertained mosaic of the Italico-Byzantine revival is that executed in 1220, by Solsternus, on the façade of the Cathedral of Spoleto. It is far inferior to the works I am about to describe.

[4] I insert this inscription from the 'Ricerche Architettoniche sopra il tempio di S. Giovanni,' etc., Flor. 8vo.

Virgin's face has the same sweet expression for which the Sienese school is so distinguished throughout its history. After executing this work he seems to have quitted Florence, and above half a century elapses before he reappears in the history of art.

Meanwhile the consuls of the wool-trade, the guardians of the Baptistery, determining to incrust the cupola with mosaics, but finding no one competent to the task—Mino probably being engaged elsewhere—sent Andrea Tafi, the most accomplished painter that Florence could then boast of, to Venice, to crave assistance from the Greek artists employed there in the Cathedral of S. Mark's. He returned successful, accompanied by one Maestro Apollonio, who initiated him into the secrets of the craft, and executed in company with him the greater part of the mosaics still existing on the cupola,[1] Andrea himself completing the Judgment which overhangs the

1820, p. 62,—compared with the copy in the 'Notizie Istorico-Critiche di Fra Giacomo da Torrita,' by the Abate Luigi de Angelis, Siena, 8vo. 1821 :—

"Annus Papa tibi nonus currebat Honori
Ac Federice tuo quintus Monarca decori
Viginti quinque Christi cum mille ducentis
Tempora currebant per secula cuncta manentis
Hoc opus incepit lux Mai tunc duodena
Quod Domini nostri conservet gratia plena
Sancti Francisci frater fuit hoc operatus
Jacobus in tali præ cunctis arte probatus."

—The description of Giacomo as "Sancti Francisci frater," shows that the inscription must be later than 1225 by at least three years, S. Francis, who died on the 4th October 1226, not having been canonized till July 1228. The date of 1225 harmonises correctly with the ninth year of Honorius III., and with the fifth of the Emperor Frederick II., dating from 1220, the year of his coronation at Rome, although he had been Emperor for many years previously. According to Professor Del Rosso, Richa and other authorities, citing the collections of the Senator C. Strozzi, the employment of Fra Giacomo, under the year 1225, on the decoration of the tribune, is asserted in the records of the 'Arte della Lana.' An accurate extract from these would be important.

[1] Laterally to the Last Judgment, presently to be described, five rows of mosaics run round the cupola, the highest representing the different orders of the heavenly hierarchy, adoring the Almighty, standing at full length and blessing; the second, the history of the world from the Creation to the Deluge; the third, the history of Joseph from his Dream in childhood to the Meeting with Jacob in Goshen; the fourth, the history of Our Saviour, —the fifth, that of John the Baptist. Several of these compartments (as the Creation of Adam and Eve, and those that immediately follow, the Building of the Ark, etc.) seem to have been recomposed in the process of reparation. Of the original compositions, those from Joseph's history display ease and truth in the attitudes, and a natural expression of feeling; the history of Our Saviour is inferior again, —but from the eighth compartment of the life of the Baptist (his reproval of Herod), to the end, the superiority reasserts itself, and the burial of S. John is excellent.

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tribune by the addition of the gigantic figure of Our Saviour —unless indeed, as I am inclined to believe, the whole of that compartment be his own. It is the old Byzantine composition, resembling in outline that at Torcello, but less mystical and more dramatic in its details, as might be expected from a Florentine. Our Saviour, seated as usual on the rainbow, stretches forth his hands, the palm of the right open towards the blest, the back of the left, repulsively, towards the condemned; above him a company of angels display the instruments of the passion, while the Twelve Apostles, headed by the Virgin, are seated on his right, and the Saints of the Old Testament, headed by the Baptist, on his left; the graves open below—marble troughs, disproportionately long and narrow, like the tombs attributed to the patriarchs in Syria; the spirits of the just are received by angels, those of the bad by devils, who lead them away respectively to paradise or hell; the attitude of one of the reprobate souls, shrinking back into its tomb, dismayed at the sight of the demon about to pounce upon it, is excellent, and the idea was constantly repeated afterwards. Lastly, instead of Abraham sitting, alone, in paradise, the three patriarchs are seated side by side in solemn state within the gate, each with several souls in his lap; and on the opposite side Satan, no longer preserving the Byzantine reminiscence of the human face and form divine, has acquired his full extravagance of Gothic and Dantesque deformity.

Altogether, and making allowance for the head and expression of Our Saviour, which are decidedly inferior, this mosaic strikes me as surpassing any previous effort of Italian art; and I may cite it, along with the improvement which Tafi introduced in the mechanical workmanship of mosaic, in justification of the reputation in which he was held throughout Italy, and in excuse for the epitaph with which the enthusiasm of his fellow-citizens honoured his memory,

> "Qui giace Andrea, ch' opre leggiadre e belle
> Fece in tutta Toscana, ed ora è ito
> A far vago lo regno delle stelle." [1]

[1] See the life of Tafi by Vasari, who ascribes to him and to Niccola Pisano equal honour, as the restorers of Mosaic and Sculpture. I hope hereafter to do justice to Vasari's merits as an historian of Art, but I may here mention his honesty and singleness of purpose, his justice and reverence for truth, his freedom from sectarian or provincial jealousy, his deep sense—founded on religion—of the source and legitimate ends of Christian Art, and his appreciation and indeed enthusiasm for the works

I am not acquainted with any other works of Tafi, though, except for the date, 1297, I should have ascribed to him the mosaic in the absis of S. Miniato, so strong is the resemblance between the face of the Saviour there and in the Baptistery, the only difference being in the superior perfection of the type, and the loftier dignity of the expression and attitude, in the later mosaic.

Andrea died in 1294, in his eighty-first year, leaving but one distinguished pupil, Buffalmacco, who continued the line of Italico-Byzantine revival, not in mosaic, but in painting.

Fra Giacomo, in the meanwhile, had been in nowise idle during what appears to us his long retreat from public view. He had acquired a dexterity and finish of workmanship surpassing even that of his Florentine rival, and while the latter had been attempting to improve and extend the range of dramatic composition, his own endeavours had been directed towards the perfection of the traditional types of the Saviour, the Virgin, and the Apostles, and to the infusion of a deeper meaning and purpose into that early Christian symbolism of which we have noticed such interesting examples in the mosaics of Ravenna, and which had been resuscitated in Italy in that of S. Clemente at the commencement of the preceding century. It is not a little interesting to observe the distinctive tendencies of the dramatic and contemplative schools of Florence and Siena already in full activity and antagonism. But it would be injustice not to add, that he had greatly improved in design also, and that in this respect, as in native genius, he far surpassed Andrea Tafi.

These merits of Fra Giacomo are alike conspicuous in the noble mosaics executed, with the assistance of his pupil Fra Giacomo da Camerino, for Pope Nicholas IV., in the tribunes of S. Maria Maggiore and S. Giovanni Laterano at Rome, towards the close of the thirteenth century.

The former represents the Coronation of the Virgin. Christ and his mother are seated on the same throne within an orb of azure studded with stars, representing heaven; Our

of his predecessors, even of schools that his teachers and associates despised, as qualities pervading his work throughout, and counterbalancing the inexactitude in point of dates and want of criticism, generally, which he shares with all his contemporaries. Thus qualified, I have the highest opinion of Vasari's lives,—they are a treasury of information, and, in a moral point of view, a legacy more precious than rubies to the sons of genius, for virtue is his spirit's dwelling-place, he sympathises with all that is loveable in human nature, and never apologises for vice.

Saviour, his face full of calm benignity, places the crown on her head, while she presses her hand meekly on her breast, and bends forward to receive it. Angels gaze in adoration, and several of the Apostles, with S. Francis, stand in a row below, on the banks of the Jordan. The whole is singularly august and grand, both as regards the general composition and the individual figures.[1]

But the mosaic of S. Giovanni is still more so, and in conception is at once original and sublime. Its subject is the union of heaven and earth by baptism. The head of Christ, majestic and benignant, looks down from heaven, indicated by a grand semicircular orb of intense blue—the little clouds scattered over its surface assuming every colour of the rainbow (as in the setting sun) while they float across his glory. Above the Saviour the Father is represented, not as usually by a hand from heaven, but by a face veiled with wings, on either side of which a company of angels are symmetrically ranged. Below these two Persons of the Godhead the Holy Ghost, descending like a dove, sheds the Trinal influence, in the similitude of a stream of water, upon the Cross, elevated on the summit of the mystic Calvary, the Mount of Paradise, and decorated with ten precious gems, artificially jointed into each other, in the centre of which is inserted a medallion representing the Baptism of Our Saviour. The spiritual waters, falling from the angles of the cross, are ultimately collected at its base, forming a deep "well of life," at which stags are drinking, symbolical of the faithful. From this well four streams descend the mountain, the four rivers of paradise, or of the gospels, to water the earth. They sink into it and are lost, but reappear in the foreground, poured out of the urns of river-gods, one of which is designated, by the inscription, "Jordanes,"—the united streams forming the "river of the waters of life." The river forms several cataracts, and is in one place confined by a dam. Boats filled with passengers are seen floating down the stream, souls in the shape of children are bathing in it, or sporting with swans and other water-fowl, others, like little winged Cupids, amuse themselves on the shore,[2] among peacocks, cocks, the hen and chickens, and other Christian symbols; while, tower-

[1] This mosaic has lately been engraved in the work of the Chev. Bünsen on the basilicas of Rome, plate 46.

[2] Reminding one, involuntarily, of the passage in Wordsworth's Platonic Ode :—

ing over them, like "trees of righteousness planted by the waters," stand a company of Saints and Apostles, headed by the Virgin and S. John the Baptist,—and lastly, in the centre, though very small, and immediately at the foot of the Cross, and between the four mystic streams, appears the gate of Paradise, a vast fortress, flanked with towers, and guarded by the Cherub, standing before it with his drawn sword, the tree of life rising above it, and the phœnix, apparently, the emblem of the resurrection, reposing on its summit.[1]

Both these mosaics are as beautifully executed as they are nobly and profoundly composed; the *commettitura* is perfect. That of S. Maria Maggiore was finished in 1289, but Mino died, it would appear, before the other was completed, and Gaddo Gaddi, the youngest of the distinguished Tuscan trio, was invited to Rome, as we shall presently see, expressly for the purpose of finishing it.

This celebrated artist—the ancestor of a family, illustrious alike for talent and moral worth, and which ranked for centuries among the noble houses of Florence—was born in 1239, nine years after Tafi, and one year before Cimabue, with both of whom he maintained a warm and steady friendship through life. His first instructors in design were probably certain Greek artists, who had been invited to Florence to paint the lower church of S. Maria Novella. He was afterwards employed by Tafi as his assistant in the mosaics of the Baptistery, which he completed by adding the row of prophets which range all round it, below the windows. The merit of these obtained him independent employment in the Cathedral, where he executed the Coronation of the Virgin, immediately above the Great Western door, inside,—an imposing composition, but still very Greek; it was reckoned, however, the most beautiful mosaic that had till then been seen in Italy, and the fame he gained by it procured him, in 1292, the summons to Rome above alluded to. He appears to have spent several years there. After finishing the mosaic of Fra

"Hence, in a season of calm weather,
Though inland far we be,
Our souls have sight of that immortal sea,
Which brought us hither,
Can in a moment travel thither,
And see the children sport upon the shore,
And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore."

[1] This mosaic has been engraved in Chev. Bünsen's work, pl. 47.

Giacomo, he worked in the ancient basilica of S. Peter's, destroyed by Julius II., and lastly, in 1308, at S. Maria Maggiore, where he executed on the façade of entrance, now shadowed by the Loggia della Benedizione, the series of mosaics from which alone we can duly estimate his merits. They are disposed in two rows, the upper representing Our Saviour, attended by the Virgin, the Baptist and four Apostles; the lower the legendary history of the foundation of the basilica. These are his *chef-d'œuvre*. They are Greek certainly, but scarcely more so than the frescoes of Cimabue, and in design, grandeur and dignity, in the majesty of the Saviour and the beauty and benignity of the Virgin, are unsurpassed by any productions of the time.[1]

After completing this remarkable work, at the age of threescore and ten, the venerable artist returned to his native Florence,[2] to seek repose from his labours, which he found in death a year or two afterwards, in 1312, and was honourably buried by his son, the painter Taddeo, in the cloisters of S. Croce.[3]

Gaddo Gaddi was the last of the great Italian mosaicists. The rapid improvement of painting under Giotto, and the

[1] John, a rich patrician of Rome, being childless, and desirous of leaving the Virgin Mary his heir, besought her to signify to him in what manner it would please her that he should do so. She appeared to him in a dream, and commanded that he should build a church on that part of the Esquiline which should be found covered with snow. Informing Pope Liberius, they went immediately to the spot, accompanied by the clergy and people, and the snow was found covering the ground precisely according to the ground-plan of the predestined edifice. The church (S. Maria ad nives, as it was originally named) was reared forthwith at the expense of John. The legend is a little varied in the mosaics :—The First represents the Virgin, with the child in her arms, appearing to Pope Liberius, sleeping, —the Second, a similar vision to the patrician, John,—in the Third, John is seen kneeling before the Pope on his throne; and in the Fourth, Our Saviour and the Virgin pour down the snow, and Liberius traces the plan of the new church, as marked out by it. One version indeed asserts that the instant the Pope touched the earth the foundations of the church yawned open of themselves. Above these four mosaics appear Our Saviour in glory, a majestic figure, attended by four angels, with the Virgin and the Baptist on his right and left, and next them, respectively, S. Paul and S. John, S. James and S. Andrew.

[2] Gaddo was a painter as well as a mosaicist, but very few of his works in that line remain. The most interesting I am acquainted with is a S. Lawrence, in excellent preservation, in the possession of Colonel Lindsay of Balcarres—a precious relic, a leaf from a branch, remote, little regarded, and early withered, on the tree of art.

[3] His portrait is to be seen, according to Vasari, in the Marriage of the Virgin, painted by his son Taddeo in the Baroncelli chapel at S. Croce,—with Andrea Tafi standing beside him. Vasari quotes a "libretto antico" for the particulars he has furnished us with of Gaddo's life.

superior resources of fresco, superseded their art. Beauty and rapidity carried the day against grandeur and durability. Moreover, the Byzantine associations of mosaic were uncongenial to the Gothic architecture, which had by this time become the vogue in Italy. On reckoning up the mosaics mentioned in these few pages, or recorded elsewhere, I think you will find that, with few and those equivocal exceptions, they were all executed for churches built in the earlier Contemplative style of the Latins and Lombards.[1] When the church of Assisi was ready for decoration, though mosaic had made greater progress than painting, and Fra Giacomo, a mosaicist of the Franciscan order, was already flourishing, fresco was resorted to in preference.

Nevertheless the schools of Fra Giacomo and Gaddi lingered on for many years in Rome and Tuscany. Adeodato Cosmati, educated in the former,[2] was the parent of a family of mosaicists much employed at Orvieto, and elsewhere in the Roman territory;[3] and Cavallini, a pupil (it is believed) of Adeodato, distinguished himself by his mosaics in the tribune of S. Maria in Trastevere,[4] and afterwards assisted Giotto, then a very young man, in the celebrated 'Navicella' or 'Ship of S. Peter,' worked by him in mosaic for the basilica of the 'Prince of the Apostles.' But the temptation was irresistible, and although by no means young, Cavallini abandoned his art for that of his youthful friend, and became one of the most distinguished painters of the Giottesque school.

Of Gaddo's followers, Vicino of Pisa, who won the applause of his fellow-citizens by completing the mosaics in the tribune of the Duomo in a style much superior to that of the artists who had commenced them, was the only one who attained distinction, unless indeed we are to reckon in this succession the celebrated Orcagna, summoned as late as 1360 to work in mosaic at Orvieto,—a fair intimation that the

[1] It is only, I believe, in Sicily—exceptional in every respect through the strange association of races—that mosaics are found in churches of Gothic architecture.

[2] He was a pupil probably, either of Fra Giacomo, or of his disciple Fra Giacomo da Camerino, who worked under him at S. Maria Maggiore and in S. Giovanni.

[3] See Dellavalle's history of the Duomo of Orvieto, p. 264.

[4] Ghiberti, the celebrated sculptor, speaks in high praise of them,—"Ardirei a dire in muro non avere veduto di quella materia lavorare mai meglio." Commentario, etc., printed in *Cicognara*, tom. ii. p. 101.—They are still to be seen there.

school of the Cosmati was then either degenerated or extinct. But Orcagna stands apart in this, as in other peculiar excellences, and with his honoured name we may take leave of this interesting department of the Italico-Byzantine revival.[1]

Section 3.—Painting.

We have only now to notice the Painters of this transition period, members of a class depressed for many ages below the mosaicists,[2] but who were about to regain all and more than the respect and influence they had enjoyed in the sunny days of Grecian art,—an ascendancy which the patronage of the powerful orders of S. Domenic and S. Francis mainly contributed to ensure for them; almost every individual work which I shall have occasion to notice in the concluding pages of this letter, was executed for one or other of these sister communities, and consequently, in connection with that Gothic Architecture which sprang from the same new and strong impulse that then pervaded Christendom. The artists I am about to mention were not, indeed, the fathers of Italian painting—a title that belongs, strictly speaking, to Giotto—but their genius and their virtues, and, it may be, the noble birth of more than one of them,[3] made the name of Painter honourable, and they prepared the way for him. These artists, three in number like the three great mosaicists, and not unlike them in their character and relative excellence in art, were Guido of Siena, Giunta of Pisa, and Cimabue of Florence, the master of Giotto.

In Painting, as in Mosaic, Siena led the way to improvement; the Madonna of Guido, in the church of S. Domenico, was painted in 1221, nineteen years before the birth of Cimabue. It is still unquestionably Greek in character, but displays a wonderful advance towards the modern style, with the same grace and sweetness that I noticed in speaking of

[1] Angelo Gaddi inherited from his grandfather the technical knowledge of the mosaicists, and turned it to good account in repairing the mosaics of the Baptistery. But after his time the art would appear to have become quite extinct at Florence. Alessandro Baldovinetti, nearly a century afterwards, acquired it *de novo* from a German, and in his turn taught Domenico del Ghirlandajo.

[2] Strictly speaking, the mosaicists ranked as painters. Fra Giacomo (among other examples) signs himself 'Pictor' on his mosaics.

[3] As of Giunta, for instance, and Cimabue.

the Madonna executed four years later in the tribune of the Baptistery by the mosaicist Fra Giacomo; both artists may possibly have been disciples of the same master.[1] Guido's pupils and successors would seem to have been numerous rather than excellent; a long period elapses before their works, as preserved in the different churches and in the Gallery of the Academy, betray any symptoms of improvement, and, with the exception of Ugolino, author of the Madonna of the Orsanmichele at Florence—a work of singular and almost unearthly beauty—it was not till the influence of Niccola Pisano had been felt at Siena that the school produced an equal to its original patriarch.[2] The spirit, nevertheless, of the Semi-Byzantine revival long lingered there, and formed, as we shall see, the animating principle of a distinct succession of artists, continually struggling with the tendencies of the age to naturalism, to the antique and the Cinquecento.

[1] It is engraved in Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 107, and in Rosini, tav. 4. The inscription is as follows, with the addition of the date 1221 :—

"Me Guido de Senis diebus depinxit amenis,
Quem Christus lenis nullis velit agere penis,"

—"diebus amenis" being an allusion to the concession, that year, by the Emperor Frederick II. of the 'gabella delle porte,' or entrance-duties, and of the right of striking money, of both of which his grandfather, Barbarossa, had deprived the Sienese in punishment for their having sided against him in his struggle with their fellow-citizen, Pope Alexander III.—*Lettere Sanesi*, tom. i. pp. 237 sqq.

[2] One peculiar feature in the history of art at Siena, is its close association with history. The Crucifix carried before the army at the glorious battle of Monte-Aperto in 1260, the Madonna, once the altar-piece of the Cathedral, and on which the city was formally bestowed as a gift before the conflict, and a second Madonna, painted *ex voto* in gratitude for the victory—all of them works of the thirteenth century, are still preserved there, the former in the Cathedral, the second in the Oratory of S. Ansano in Castel Vecchio, the third in the Cappella del Voto, attached to the Cathedral. Diotisalvi del Maestro Guido, pupil evidently of that master, and who flourished in 1227 and 1250, and indeed till 1278 (*Lett. Sanesi*, tom. i. pp. 251 and 273), seems to have been the most distinguished Sienese artist between Guido and the two rivals at the close of the thirteenth century, Mino and Duccio. For one of his Madonnas (in the Servi at Siena) see Rosini, tav. 6. Ugolino is also said to have preserved the manner of Guido. His Madonna at the Orsanmichele is enshrined in the famous tabernacle of Orcagna, to be spoken of in the ensuing letter. Baldinucci assigns it the date of 1284,—*Notizie, etc., life of Andrea Orcagna*. It is much to be regretted that the great altar-pieces painted by him for the high altars of S. Croce and S. Maria Novella, at Florence, have been destroyed or lost, as in all probability they might have warranted my classing him with Mino and Duccio at the head of the Sienese school, properly so called, as born of the influence of Niccola Pisano. Dellavalle describes the S. Croce picture as of great merit, especially the six compartments of the *gradino*, representing the Passion; it was removed from the high altar when Vasari renewed the ciborium,

Guido's contemporary, Giunta Pisano, as he is usually styled, although descended from a noble family, surnamed Del Colle, of Pistoja, enjoyed a reputation far more extensive, and was for many years accounted the prince of Italian painters. He was already an artist in 1202,[1] and is styled 'Maestro' in 1203 and 1210,[2] and probably shone without a rival twenty years afterwards when invited to Assisi by the celebrated Fra Elias, to decorate with his pencil the Upper

and in Dellavalle's time was preserved in the upper dormitory of the convent, at the head of the stairs. *Lett. Sanesi*, tom. ii. p. 202. According to a MS. statement by the Cav. T. Puccini, cited by Masselli, the recent annotator on Vasari,[1] it was sold to an Englishman "per pochi scudi," at the beginning of the present century. The altar-piece of S. Maria Novella was subsequently removed to the Cappella degli Spagnuoli, but was missing when Dellavalle wrote. From comparison with the altar-piece of S. Croce, Dellavalle questions Vasari's correctness in attributing to Ugolino the Madonna of Orsanmichele, on account of the superior excellence of the latter. I cannot doubt, however, its being a Sienese picture, and of the Semi-Byzantine period. Baron von Rumohr (*Ital. Forschungen*, tom. ii. p. 25) acknowledges that he has discovered nothing certain concerning Ugolino. For the early masters of Siena, generally, anterior to Mino and Duccio, see the *Lettere Sanesi*, tom. i. p. 271 sqq. I shall have frequent occasion to cite this work; it is of high value, from its copious citations of original documents in the Archivio delle Riformagioni, the Opera of the Duomo, the great Hospital, the Biccherna and other public offices of the city—the best and surest evidence on which the genealogy and history of art can be grounded. Dellavalle is certainly rather partial, or (as I would rather term it) patriotic,—but so all such historians necessarily are, every district of Italy having been formerly an independent State, and naturally retaining still the prejudices engendered by early rivalry with its neighbours. Vasari is freest from this demerit, and Lanzi's impartiality is most praiseworthy,—the defects in his 'Storia Pittorica della Italia' are incidental to his plan, not his judgment, critical or moral.

[1] This appears from a deed printed by Professor Ciampi, at p. 141 of his 'Notizie Inedite della Sagrestia Pistoiese, de' Belli Arredi, del Campo Santo Pisano,' etc.—Flor. 4to. 1810,—a most valuable work abounding in original documents illustrative of the history of early Italian art. Giunta is styled in this document "Juncta quondam Guidocti pict."—See the same page for the proof of his family, etc. For the works of his Greek predecessors at Pisa see Rosini's 'Proemio' to the first volume of his history.

[2] In public documents cited by Morrona in his section devoted to Giunta, tom. ii. p. 116 of the 'Pisa Illustrata,' ed. 8vo. I have ranked Guido first, the Madonna of 1221 implying the maturity of that artist, while the great works of Giunta belong to the middle of the century. Morrona (tom. iii. p. 400), and Rosini (tom. i. pp. 114 sqq.), incline to attribute to Giunta the frescoes in the church of S. Piero in Grado about four miles from Pisa, and this (among other reasons) on the ground of their striking similarity in style to the frescoes at Assisi. Specimens of them are engraved among the folio plates of the 'Storia della Pitt. Ital.,' tav. D.

[1] P. 1152, *Appendix*, of his most commodious and useful edition, Florence, 2 vols. 8vo., 1832-8.

church of the Franciscans.[1] He began, as usual, with the tribune and transepts, which he entirely covered with his frescoes, now, alas! almost obliterated by time; they are literally peeling off the walls, and little is discernible except the general outline of composition, and in many cases not even that. The Crucifixion of Our Saviour, and that of S. Peter, in the Southern transept, the Death of the Virgin and her Coronation in the tribune, the four Evangelists in the vault overhanging the choir, and certain Apostles and Saints scattered through the Eastern part of the church, are among the least decayed, but fifty years hence the Evangelists, and perhaps such of the Saints as are sheltered by the triforia, will be the sole witnesses to Giunta's merits as a fresco-painter.[2] To attempt an estimate of these merits would be presumptuous amid such a wreck of fame and talent. But I may venture to say that his figures are dignified, though very Greek, that his compositions, so far as recognisable, seem to be purely Byzantine, with very little variation from the traditional arrangement, that his taste is decidedly dramatic and anti-symbolical, and that he had undergone no influence from Niccola Pisano, who indeed was a younger man. In short, without any wish of forcing a parallel, Giunta strikes me as holding much the same place in the painting of this peculiar epoch as Andrea Tafi does in mosaic. These frescoes, after an interval of absence, were resumed in 1253, and completed before 1255, in which year Giunta had again returned to Pisa.[3] He probably died soon afterwards, as his name does not recur in the records or chronicles of the time.

Of his distemper, or easel paintings, a few are preserved at Pisa, Assisi and elsewhere. They strike me as far inferior to his frescoes; they are completely in the Greek style, and little, if at all superior to it; in his crucifixes, the Christ is always hideously emaciated, in accordance with the prejudice then

[1] The year 1230 commonly assigned would be too early, I suspect, as the walls, though finished in that year, would hardly be ready so soon for the pencil; but he was certainly there in 1236, the date inscribed on a portrait of S. Francis by his hand, formerly preserved there.

[2] Vasari errs in attributing these to Cimabue, whose works are confined to the nave of the Upper Church.—See Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 111, for the fresco of Simon Magus' flight through the air, now almost wholly obliterated. The distribution of the angels in the Crucifixion, catching the blood from Our Saviour's side and weeping in the air, shows feeling and invention in the true Byzantine spirit.

[3] *Rosini*, tom. i. p. 109. He was certainly at Pisa in 1255, figuring as a feudal proprietor in a document of that year cited by Ciampi, *Notizie Inedite*, etc., p. 141.

current as to the personal appearance of Our Saviour.[1] The most interesting of these smaller works is the portrait of S. Francis, preserved in the sacristy of the lower church at Assisi, a full length, the features copied from a still older Greek portrait at S. Maria degli Angeli, said to have been painted on the board on which the Saint slept. The head is a remarkable one, and I have little doubt, a correct likeness; the eyes are deeply set and close to each other.

Giunta left some pupils at Pisa, but they were a puny race, too weak to transform themselves into Giotteschi,[2]—it is on the elder arts, Architecture and Sculpture, that, from first to last, Pisa founds her peculiar praise and glory. But a representative of his style, and possibly a scion of his school, long survived at Arezzo, in Margaritone, excellent as an architect and sculptor, but in painting distinguished only as the author of the hideous crucifix, now preserved in the loggia, or cloistral passage between the Capitolo, or chapter-house, at S. Croce, in Florence, and historically interesting as having been sent by him as a present to the illustrious Ghibelline chief, Farinata degli Uberti.[3] Margaritone died at an advanced age, worn out, it is said, with chagrin and vexation at finding the taste changed, and the honours borne away from him by a younger generation,[4]—to wit by him of whom I must now speak, the third and most distinguished of the great painters of this transitional period, Giovanni Cimabue.

This illustrious man was born in 1240, of a noble Florentine family, otherwise named the Gualtieri. His turn for design evinced itself at a very early age. In the lack of native artists the Florentines had been compelled to invite a company of Greek painters to decorate the lower, or subterranean church of S. Maria Novella, belonging to the Domi-

[1] The best preserved of these crucifixes is in the north transept of the church of S. Maria degli Angeli, below Assisi. Lanzi praises it as exhibiting a knowledge of the naked figure, a power of exhibiting pain, and a manner in painting drapery, superior to the Byzantines. It is almost too painful to look upon, much less criticise.

[2] Specimens of their works may be seen in the gallery of the Academy. And consult Rosini, tom. i. pp. 150, 216, 258, and plates 5 and 6.

[3] Before November, 1266, when Farinata was dead, and probably soon after the battle of Monte-Aperto, 1260. He is described as 'Margaritus Pictor, filius quondam Magnani,' in a deed of 1262.—*Masselli's notes to Vasari.*

[4] See Vasari. But Margaritone had certainly abandoned the Byzantine style and risen to high and acknowledged excellence in Sculpture, under the influence of Niccola Pisano, so that I am rather incredulous of this melancholy ending.

nicans ;[1] the works of these artists were an irresistible attraction to young Cimabue, who loitered beside them, watching their progress, while his parents believed him conning his grammar in the adjacent school, kept for the instruction of the novices. His books too betrayed the usual symptoms of a newly awakened enthusiasm in the sketches of men, horses, houses, etc. with which their margins were disfigured, and before long his father found himself constrained to yield to an in-

[1] There are a great many ancient frescoes, woefully defaced, in the chapels and cells of this part of the monastery, but though traces of Byzantine influence are very visible, I do not think any of them of pure Greek origin. They seem to be, for the most part, of a school elder than that of Giotto, but contemporary with him or his immediate successors, and strongly influenced by them. This subterranean church should rather be described as three extensive corridors, two of which branch off from the third at right angles to it in opposite directions, but at unequal distances from the entrance. The entrance is through the archway opening on the Chiostro Verde, immediately to the right of that into the Cappella degli Spagnuoli. The existing paintings are confined to the central corridor, right in front as you enter, and to the chapels to the right and left of it, and at the extremity, beyond a partition-wall opening with a wicket, which has been interposed in comparatively recent times. The following notes may assist inspection in a place so dark and gloomy :—To the left, on entering, a bas-relief of the Virgin and Child, and a female devotee kneeling, rude in execution, but graceful and dignified in conception :—Immediately beyond this, the door into the Stanza Mortuaria, in which there is an interesting early fresco of the Nativity, in which the child, just born, turns round its face to look at its mother, and one of the shepherds holds back his dog, who rises on his hind legs to bark at the angel,—some of the angels' heads are very like those in the large Madonna of Cimabue in the upper church ; the thatch of the shed and the leaves of the shrubs, etc., are very carefully finished :—Beyond this chamber, three chapels, to the right of the corridor, between the second and third of which is interposed the modern partition wall, above alluded to ; in the first, in the lunette of the right-hand wall, the Flagellation (apparently) of S. Antony in the tomb, and his Burial, very simple and beautiful ; in the second, on the front wall, to the left, the embrace of Joachim and Anna at the Golden Gate of Jerusalem—her face young and beautiful, full of purity, sweetness and grace ; an angel descending from heaven seems to introduce them, resting a hand on the head of each, pressing them towards each other, like children,—and to the right, the Birth of the Virgin—engraved by Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 109, as a work of the Greek painters, instructors of Cimabue, whereas it is evidently much more recent ;—in the third, nothing worth notice :[1] And finally, in the chapel at the very extremity of the corridor opposite the door of the entrance from the Chiostro Verde—on the left wall, the death of S. Jerome and the vision of two young monks of S. Martin's monastery at Tours, who heard the voices and the singing when Our Saviour, with the heavenly host and the spirits of the just, came down to receive his soul at Bethlehem,—and on the right-hand wall the apparition of S. Jerome to S. Augustine, and another subject, but both these are almost effaced.

[1] One of these chapels, dedicated to S. Martin, was painted by Giocomo da Casentino, according to the 'Firenze Antica e Moderna,' tom. vi. p. 340. Vasari, however, does not mention it in his life of that artist.

clination so decided, and apprentice him to these foreign masters. He made rapid progress and speedily surpassed them. But the influence of this early Byzantine training was never effaced. His natural disposition, indeed, being to the grand and noble rather than the soft and refined, he had the less temptation to depart from the traditional types and models, and we find him accordingly, throughout his career, attempting to re-create, re-inspire and re-ennoble, rather than depart from them.

His first great work was a Virgin and child, attended by angels, and seated on a lofty throne supported by three arches, under which appear the heads of four Apostles, very dignified, although the upper part of the picture, especially the Virgin, is quite Greek. This picture was executed for the S. Trinità, a church in Florence belonging to the monks of Vallombrosa, but it is now preserved in that treasury of primitive art, the gallery of the Academy.

His next important painting was the crucifix, now in the sacristy of S. Croce, executed for the Franciscans, the steady patrons of his subsequent career. The *Guardiano*, or Superior, of the monastery, who had given him the commission, was pleased with his performance; and carried him to Pisa, where he painted for the church of S. Francesco, in that city, another Madonna, now in the gallery of the Louvre,[1]—the head is Byzantine, but full of dignity.

These paintings established Cimabue's reputation, and soon afterwards, probably through the intervention of his friend the Guardiano, he received an invitation to Assisi, the head-quarters of the order, there to continue the decoration of the Upper church in fresco. He is supposed to have arrived there about the year 1265, towards the twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth year of his age.[2]

After Giunta's death it would appear that no Italian artist had been deemed worthy of filling his place and completing the work. Cimabue, therefore, found the roof and the walls of the nave a blank, ready for his pencil.[3] He commenced, as

[1] Through the conquests of the French. Many of the early Italian paintings, not belonging to public galleries, were never restored; they now fill the first of the upper halls of the Louvre Gallery. The original exposition-catalogues, as issued under the Empire, usually specify the spot where each picture came from. They do so in the present instance.

[2] Notes to Vasari, Sienese edit., as quoted by Lanzi.

[3] The frescoes of the nave of the Lower Church are attributed to him by Vasari, conjointly with some Greek painters whom he found working there,

usual, by the roof, representing on the first of the groined vaults the four Doctors of the Church, and on the third the Saviour, the Virgin, the Baptist and S. Francis,—the Doctors full of dignity, but exactly resembling the Saints of the Menologion magnified—the Virgin and her companions noble in attitude and character, although still essentially Greek,—the Saviour, especially, has evidently been inspired by the mosaics. These vaults are in excellent preservation, the colours as brilliant nearly as when first laid on.[1] But I cannot, alas! say as much for the remaining and more mature compositions. These, ranging along the nave in two distinct rows on the opposite walls, have been ruthlessly retouched and are in many places entirely obliterated. Those on the Southern wall represent the history of the Old Testament, those on the Northern that of the New, which is concluded on the Western wall, opposite the sanctuary, by the Ascension of Christ and the Descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles. The compositions are for the most part the traditional Byzantine ones, little varied from, but they are grandly given—the design is improved, the groups are well allied to, and discriminated from each other; and in those compositions in which the painter has been forced to be entirely original the same merits are observable. They form altogether a noble series, and I would mention the Building of the Ark, the Sacrifice of Abraham, the Betrayal of Our Lord, and the Pietà, or Lamentation over the dead body of Christ, as especially worthy of admiration.[2]

—but there is small probability of this. They seem to have been executed previously to the middle of the thirteenth century, when the walls were broken through to make the chapels. They are now scarcely recognisable. One of the most remarkable is the Meeting of the Virgin and S. John after the Crucifixion, on the right-hand wall,—but I should hardly have made it out but for the assistance of a drawing, one of a series, made by Signor Mariani, an artist, and the engraver of some interesting architectural views and sections of the two churches, the upper and lower, of S. Francesco.

[1] Each of the Doctors is represented at full length, sitting at his desk, studying the Scriptures, while Our Saviour appears above, inspiring him in their interpretation. See Dr. Franz Kügler's interesting observation on the ornaments which surround these medallions, in which he recognises "a decided and not unsatisfactory approach to the antique."—*Handbook of Painting in Italy*, p. 34,—a very useful vademecum.

[2] It has been questioned of late years whether these are really works of Cimabue. Baron v. Rumohr (*Ital. Forschungen*, tom. ii. p. 67) inclines to attribute them to Spinello Aretino and his son Parri, Giottesque artists of the latter part of the fourteenth century. But, although it is possible that Spinello may have retouched

After completing these frescoes Cimabue returned to Florence, to set the seal on his reputation by his celebrated Madonna, painted for the chapel of the Ruccellai family in S. Maria Novella, of the Dominicans. You will gaze on it with interest, if not with admiration, for, independently of pictorial merit it is linked with history. Charles of Anjou, King of Naples, passing through Florence while he was engaged in painting it, was taken to see it at the artist's bottega, or studio—as it would now be termed, in a garden outside the Porta S. Piero; rumour had been busy, but no one had as yet obtained a glimpse of it,—all Florence crowded in after him—nothing like it had till then been seen in Tuscany, and when finished, it was carried in solemn procession to the church, followed by the whole population, and with such triumph and rejoicings that the quarter where the painter dwelt obtained the name, which it has ever since retained, of Borgo Allegri.[1] Nor can I think that this enthusiasm was solely excited by a comparative superiority to contemporary art; it has a character of its own, and, once seen, stands out from the crowd of Madonnas, individual and distinct. The type is still the Byzantine, intellectualised perhaps, yet neither beautiful nor graceful, but there is a dignity and a majesty in her mien, and an expression of inward ponderings and sad anticipation rising from her heart to her eyes as they meet yours, which one cannot forget. The child too, blessing with his right hand, is full of the deity, and the first object in the picture, a propriety seldom lost sight of by the elder Christian painters. And the attendant angels, though as like as twins, have much grace and sweetness.[2]

them, the testimony of Vasari, and an unbroken tradition of five centuries, are not to be lightly questioned; their position immediately above Giotto's life of S. Francis (hereafter to be mentioned), and which occupies the third and lowest range of compartments, proves their prior execution, and their style and character are precisely accordant with that of the undoubted works of Cimabue.

There was in the Carità, at Assisi, a ruined church, crumbling to decay, a gigantic Madonna, painted in fresco, and attributed to Cimabue — very Greek, but majestic and dignified. It probably no longer exists. In S. Bernardino, at Perugia, on the Piazza di S. Francesco, is a Crucifix, dated 1272, which Prof. Rosini believes to be by Cimabue, and probably painted about the time of his works at Assisi. —*Storia*, etc., tom. i. p. 192.

[1] Vasari, on the authority of "certi ricordi di vecchi pittori." He had access to many documents of this description, which have since been lost.

[2] This picture still hangs in its original position, in the chapel at the extremity of the Southern transept. It is engraved in Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. 108, and in Rosini, tav. 4.

Cimabue died in 1302,[1] in the sixty second year of his age, lamented throughout Italy as the most illustrious painter of his time. His portrait may be seen in one of the great frescoes of Simon di Memmo in the chapel of the Spaniards, the ancient Capitolo of S. Maria Novella. The sculptor Ghiberti, who has left us some interesting notices of the early artists,[2] describes him as a man of most fair presence ("di bellissima presenza"), and from the likeness in question it is easy to imagine his appearance—tall, thin and erect in person, with much of the look of a gentleman and of an old soldier, who has been the handsome, the gay, the admired, in his younger days. A commentator on Dante, contemporary with Giotto, describes him as noble in character, but haughty and proud, and one who, if a fault was hinted at in any of his works, or if he discovered a blemish in it himself, would cast it aside at the instant, however deeply interested in it,[3]—a man, in short, who lived for fame and not for pelf, as all true artists would, were they not compelled too often, by the iron arm of need, to paint to live rather than live to paint. I may add (for everything respecting the man is interesting) that he lived in his own house, afterwards that of Giotto, in the Via del Cocomero, and that he was buried in the adjacent Duomo.

And yet, before bidding farewell to Cimabue, I feel that I ought to apologise to the many writers who reckon him the father of the school of Florence—a dignity which cannot be conceded to him in prejudice of Giotto. The simple state of the case is this:—At a time when the traditions of Byzantium, venerable and noble, but insufficient in themselves for the regeneration of art, ruled paramount in Christendom, Niccola Pisano introduced a new style of design and composition, founded on nature and the antique, properly checked by the requirements of Christianity and of the life of the middle ages, retaining nothing from the Byzantines except the traditionary compositions which he held himself free to modify, improve

[1] Vasari says in 1300, but he appears to have been executing a mosaic, at Pisa, in 1302 (*Ciampi, Notizie*, etc., p. 144), and to have left it unfinished through death. Cimabue painted in fresco at Padua in the church of the Carmelites, afterwards burnt; a head of S. John, cut from the ruin, was preserved in the sixteenth century. See the 'Notizie d' Opere di Disegno,' etc., published by Morelli, *Bassano*, 8vo, 1800, p. 17.

[2] The 'Commentario,' printed by Cicognara at the close of the fourth chapter of the fourth book of his 'Storia della Scultura,' tom. ii. p. 99.

[3] Quoted by Vasari, in the life of Cimabue.

or dispense with altogether at pleasure, with the licence of originality. This new principle was adopted by Giotto, a genius as original as Niccola himself, the sole distinguished pupil of Cimabue, and who struck out a style totally different from his master's and from the Byzantine, which his followers even considered it a demerit to resemble. Cimabue, therefore, exerted comparatively little or no influence on the Florentine school, and the fact (which may readily be allowed) that he improved in design under the influence of the new life imparted to art in general by Niccola Pisano, cannot countervail the certainty that his inward spirit, and even his outward style continued to the last essentially—although in the loftiest sense—Byzantine, and that, if Fra Giacomo da Turrita and Gaddo Gaddi rightly belong to this transitional period, Cimabue must, by all the laws of sound criticism, be classed under it also. Jupiter, in fact, did not more thoroughly dethrone Saturn than Giotto supplanted Cimabue and the Byzantines—than the Dramatic superseded the Contemplative principle at Florence.

The conquest was not, however, so immediate and complete as in the case of Niccola Pisano in Sculpture. An adherent of the elder school maintained his ground, like a little Emperor of Trebizond, for many years after Giotto's death, and if I am not mistaken, perpetuated a Semi-Byzantine succession at Florence as late as the close of the fourteenth century.

This was Bonamico di Cristofano, surnamed Buffalmacco, a name better remembered now for eccentricity than genius, yet undeserving of that total neglect to which it is too generally abandoned.

He was educated by Andrea Tafi, the mosaicist—not to his own department of art, but as a painter, and had formed his style and established his fame before the death of Cimabue and maturity of Giotto. His style, so far as we can judge of it by description and the few fragments which remain of his works, was founded on the Byzantine, with such additional improvement as talent and observation enabled him to infuse into it from other quarters. But his caprice and carelessness were at least equal to his genius, and carried away by the perilous gift of facility, he too generally trusted to copious invention, superficial grace and attractive colouring, to atone for inaccurate design, exaggerated action, and the introduction

of figures in attitudes more or less comic, admirably calculated to raise a laugh, but utterly at variance with the solemn character of the subjects with which he intermingled them.[1] On the other hand he knew what was right and fitting, he was even learned in his art, "dottissimo," according to Ghiberti, "in tutta l' arte," and when he chose to exert himself, when "he put his soul into his work," he excelled, says that writer, "every other painter of his time,"—words to be taken with allowance, but which amply testify the respect accorded to him, even in the days of Cosmo de' Medici.

I confess there is many a celebrated painter, the moiety of whose works I would freely sacrifice to win back from oblivion half a dozen frescoes of Buffalmacco. As it is, we have little to judge him by. Of his numerous works at Pisa, the sole unquestionable one that remains is the Crucifixion in the Campo Santo, an early work, yet a most singular one,—bold and original in composition and by no means ill executed, and especially remarkable for the varied action of the angels with which the sky is peopled; one of them, among a group gathered round Our Saviour, receives the blood from his side in a golden chalice; another, standing on the cross of the penitent thief, extricates his soul from his mouth, while a devil performs the like office for his companion in punishment, receiving it in his arms, and a brother fiend, armed with a whip, bends forward, grotesquely and exultingly, to welcome it to its new existence; the angels who had been watching beside the one cross, fly away, wringing their hands in sorrow, while those attendant on the other rejoice over the good estate of the soul that has found grace even on the stroke of the twelfth hour. All of them are in communion with each other, sympathising with man. Some of these ideas were adopted and frequently repeated by the Giotteschi and other early painters. The lower part of the composition is filled with warriors on horseback, the Virgin fainting, attended by the Maries, a group of Jews, women, children, etc., all expressive, though often caricatured. The faces are generally rather round and full, a peculiarity which attaches more or less to most Italian painters of Semi-Byzantine descent or sympathies. But this interesting fresco is a mere wreck, scarcely recognis-

[1] *E.g.*, his representing the mothers biting and scratching in their rage and anguish during the Massacre of the Innocents,—S. Luke blowing his pen to make it give out the ink,—and the old man blowing his nose in the Crucifixion—in each instance as described by Vasari.

able, it has been so repainted and injured.[1] Buffalmacco's later works, at Assisi and elsewhere, have entirely perished,[2] a fate that some of them had already undergone in Vasari's time, who attributes their decay to his use of a peculiar species of *paonazzo*, or purple, mixed with salt, which ate into and corroded them. The ultimate and universal prevalence of the Giottesque taste may have also in many instances doomed them to premature destruction.

[1] The composition has some resemblance to the Crucifixion by Giunta in the upper church of Assisi. It is engraved by Signor Carlo Lasinio, the father, in the magnificent collection of engravings of the Campo Santo, published originally in 1812—primarily, I believe, through the advocacy and interest of Professor Rosini, the historian of Italian art.

[2] The life of the Magdalen, in one of the chapels of the lower church at Assisi, attributed to Buffalmacco, is certainly Giottesque, and appears to be by Giottino. At Florence, however, in the gallery of the Academy, a picture is attributed to him, which may possibly be his,—at all events it is a very interesting specimen of the school to which he belonged. It was painted and set up, in the year 1312, over the tomb of the Abbess S. Umiltà (a rich, noble and beautiful damsel of Faenza, foundress of the 'donne di Faenza,' or 'Monache Vallombrosane,' a distinct branch or rule of the Benedictine order), in the church of her nunnery at Florence, dedicated to S. John the Evangelist, but now destroyed, the name surviving in that of the castle 'di S. Giovanni,' usually known as the 'fortezza di basso,' which extends over the site. The arrangement of the picture is quite in the Greek style,—the Saint is represented at full length in her nun's dress in the centre, and her story is told in small lateral compartments. In the First and highest, beginning from the left, she is seen converting her suitor, a kinsman of the Emperor Frederick II., to the faith of virginity. In the Second is represented the illness of the husband whom her guardians had compelled her to marry, which resulted in his acquiescence in her wish to take the veil, and ultimately, in his assuming the cowl himself, which in the Third compartment he receives from the Bishop, while his (late) wife kneels behind, in prayer. In the Fourth is represented the miracle by which the obedience that obtained her name, 'Humility' (Umiltà), was honoured by God. Although of high birth, she had never been taught to read; the nuns one day playfully bade her go and read to them as they dined; she bent her head submissively, and went up to the desk, and opening the book, the words presented themselves to her, "Despise not the works of the Lord, for they are all true and just,"—she read them aloud, and then, lifting up her eyes, pronounced a discourse so lofty and thrilling on the text in question, that first they wondered, and presently not an eye remained dry throughout the refectory. And still greater was their surprise when, on examining the book that lay before her, not a word was to be found there of what her mouth had uttered. The Fifth compartment represents her escape from the convent by the assistance of an angel of the Lord, and her miraculous passage of the river Lamone by walking on the water, her object being to reach the desert and live there in penitence and apart, in imitation of the ancient Anchorets. Being detained, however, shortly afterwards, in an honourable captivity, by a relation who opposed her purpose, she healed by the sign of the cross a young monk whose leg the doctors were about to amputate, and who had besought her interposition, as represented in compartment Sixth, in consequence of which her kinsman

In every way, therefore, Time's tooth has been busy with his fame, and a mere skeleton, a very ghost of a reputation is all that remains to Buffalmacco. It is, in truth, in the thin airy atmosphere of the Italian novelists, that his name will survive after every vestige of his works has vanished. From

relinquished his opposition, and a cell was built for her adjoining the church of S. Apollinaire, near Faenza, belonging to the monastery of the youth she had healed, in which she might live, professing the rule of the Benedictines, and furnished with two little windows, the one opening into the church, for the reception of the Sacrament, the other for the introduction of food. She is seen kneeling beside it, in the background of compartment Seventh. Her example induced many other women to build cells round the monastery, and by the bishop's desire, confirmed by an apparition of Our Saviour, they were soon afterwards put under her care, and a monastery was built, into which, twelve years after entering her cell, she was formally inducted by the bishop. Some time after this, accompanied by three of her nuns, and at the command of S. John the Evangelist, she walked barefoot to Florence, with the view of establishing another nunnery there ; they are seen on their journey in the background of the compartment last mentioned. In the Eighth, the new nunnery is seen in the progress of erection,—she follows a mule laden with stones for the building, which, though past eighty, she daily gathered with her own hands in the Mugnone, the streamlet that flows past Florence, under sunny Fiesole. The Ninth compartment is lost. The Tenth represents her resuscitation of a dead child ; it had been entrusted to a poor country-woman to nurse, but fell ill, and she was bringing it to Florence for medical aid when it died in her arms ; she met S. Umiltà, and besought her assistance ; a little chapel, dedicated to S. John the Evangelist, stood by ; Umiltà took the child and laid it before the image, and making the sign of the cross over the body with a lighted taper, the child revived. Finally, in the Eleventh compartment, is represented the apparition of S. Umiltà, while yet alive, to two nuns who lived as anchorets in the Apennine, but had fallen from their first love, warning them to repent ; and in the Twelfth, her death, aged about a century, in 1310, or rather, the funeral service performed over her remains. See, for this history, the 'Breve Raccolto della Vita, Miracoli e Culto di Sant' Umiltà,' etc. *Flor.* 4to, 1722. These little compositions are painted on a gold ground and very highly finished ; the landscape, trees, architecture, etc., resemble those of the Menologion, and the whole style is Byzantine, but the figures are much superior, and frequently have considerable expression. The colouring tends towards a greyish green, very usual in productions of the Italico-Byzantine schools. When the monastery of S. John was destroyed in 1529, the picture was removed, along with the body of the saint, to that of S. Salvi, but the latter also being now deserted, it has been lodged, after careful restoration, in the Academy. I own I am inclined to believe it a genuine work of Buffalmacco, more especially as, according to Vasari, his earliest employment had been in decorating the church of these 'monache di Faenza' in fresco. It may be noted too that the Mugnone is the scene of one of the best of the practical jokes which Buffalmacco and Bruno played on Calandrino, as related by Boccaccio, and the probability naturally suggests itself that they may, all three, have worked there together. The interest of this picture as one of the very few surviving relics of the early Semi-Byzantine school of Florence —ancestral, as I believe it, to Orcagna and Fra Angelico da Fiesole, with whose works not a few resemblances may be here detected—will excuse the length of this notice.

boyhood to hoary age, his pranks and practical jokes were the laugh of Florence, as his conversational flow of fun and humour were the life of Maso del Saggio's shop, the Wits' Coffee-house of the time.[1] But wit and wisdom are seldom mates, and the ashes left by the crackling thorns of folly press heavily on the head on which retribution lays them. It so fared with Buffalmacco. A merry wag, a careless spendthrift, living for the day without a thought of the morrow, and (as the phrase is) nobody's enemy but his own, he drained the cup of pleasure to the lees and found misery at the bottom, dying, at the age of seventy-eight,[2] a beggar in the Misericordia, without a paul in his pocket to buy a coffin for his corpse or a mass for his soul—the type and mirror of a whole class of artists whose follies and vagaries throw discredit on genius, while a certain kindliness of heart renders it impossible not to pity while we blame them.

One only of his pupils, Giovanni da Ponte, is recorded as such; he was a prodigal and a man of pleasure, and died in wretchedness like himself.[3] Bruno, the accomplice, and Calandrino, the victim of his practical jokes, as recorded by Boccaccio, both of them painters, though mere daubers, unquestionably belonged to the same school, and, if not his own, may probably have been his fellow-pupils under Andrea Tafi.[4] These would be but ignoble representatives of the Semi-Byzantine succession at Florence; but, strange to say, I think it not improbable that the Orcagna family derive their pedigree as artists from the same original stock,—and that thus the sublime author of the 'Triumph of Death,' and his pupil, the mystic Traini, and even, possibly, the half-sainted Beato Angelico da Fiesole, walk in the same procession with him. But these are names of which we shall treat more fully and reverently hereafter.[5]

[1] The witticisms recorded by Boccaccio are dull enough, the practical jokes excellent,—and so too are those inserted in his life by Vasari, from the novels of Sacchetti.

[2] In 1340, according to Vasari. But Baldinucci says his name is inserted as alive in 1351, in an ancient book of the Company of the Painters. *Notizie*, etc., tom. ii, p. 27.

[3] Vasari.

[4] A picture by Bruno, preserved in the Academy of Pisa, is engraved by Rosini, tav. 12. It bears a strong resemblance (in its inferiority) to the style of Orcagna. Compare for instance the female figures with the mother attempting to rescue her daughter from the Demons' grasp in the Last Judgment of the Campo Santo.

[5] It may be remarked, that in Ghiberti's 'Commentario' he enumerates the painters in three distinct groups, commencing with Giotto and his pupils, *nominatim*, as such,—then proceeding to Buffalmacco (or, as he

There were yet two or three Italico-Byzantine revivals, similar to and contemporary with those of Siena and Florence, which ought to be mentioned, before concluding this letter.

Tomaso de' Stefani effected an improvement of this description at Naples, but the frescoes executed by him in the chapel of the Minutoli in the Duomo are, I fear, no longer visible. Workmen were whitewashing the upper walls of the chapel when I visited it in the spring of 1842, and it is not likely that the compositions to the right and left of the altar-tomb, which escaped retouching through the intercession of De' Dominici a century ago, have now been spared.[1] The frescoes, though sadly injured, were well worth preserving; ease, freedom, and even grace made amends for harsh outlines, abrupt shadow, and much inequality of execution. But as the work of Tomaso, the brother of Pietro, who sculptured the altar-tomb, and the friend of Masuccio who built the cathedral, each in his department the parent of art at Naples, they should have been held sacred. Tomaso left a pupil, Filippo Tesauro, the master of Messer Simone, whom I shall hereafter mention as a proselyte to the school of Giotto.[2]

The frescoes of the Baptistery at Parma have a far better chance of preservation, and indeed rank among the most remarkable productions of the thirteenth century. They were executed by Bertolino of Piacenza and Niccolò of Reggio, shortly after 1260, in the youth of Cimabue, and fill three of the concentric circles of the cupola,—the highest representing the Apostles and Evangelists (three of the latter, S. Mark, S. Luke, and S. John being portrayed like Egyptian deities, with the heads of their respective symbols, the lion, ox and eagle); the second, Our Saviour, the Virgin and the prophets;

calls him, Bonamico), Pietro Cavallini and Orcagna, evidently considering them a distinct school, independent of Giotto—and lastly, to the painters of Siena. In the Campo Santo, moreover, the works of Orcagna immediately succeed those of Buffalmacco.

[1] See the 'Vite de' Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti Napoletani,' by Bernardo de' Dominici, tom. i. p. 11. I shall speak of the character of this work in treating of the school of Niccola Pisano.

[2] Of Tesauro some frescoes, representing the life of the Beato Niccola, existed at the beginning of last century in a lunette in the chapel of S. Maria del Principio in the church of S. Restituta, now enclosed in the cathedral of S. Gennaro—but they have been whitewashed.—*De' Dominici*, tom. i. p. 30. A Madonna and child, in the Incoronata, over the first altar to the right, on entering the church, struck me as the most pleasing among the various works ascribed to Messer Simone. The expression is very sweet, and the style is peculiar, evidently before any Giottesque influence.

the third, the history of S. John the Baptist.[1] They are in excellent preservation, and very nearly as fresh as when first painted. In general style they are decidedly Byzantine, imitated from the mosaics,—the very colouring, clear and brilliant, reminds one of them; several of the compositions are the traditional ones, yet varied with boldness and originality, while a life and animation pervade the whole series, to which I scarcely remember any contemporary parallel. I cannot say what succession these painters left, but from the peculiar colouring and other circumstances I strongly suspect an ancestral relation between them and the primitive and interesting school of Bologna.[2]

In the North of Lombardy we find fewer and indecisive traces of revival—at least in the Byzantine spirit. The old Roman school indeed, or what I have ventured to consider such, revived, especially at Cremona, where some very curious frescoes, of the middle of the fourteenth century, by Polidoro Casella, quite unlike either the Giottesque or the Byzantine manner, still exist on the vaults of the two aisles of the Cathedral.[3] Such too may be seen at Verona, in the frescoes that line the choir of S. Zenone, but there the Byzantine and Giottesque influences balance, if not encroach upon it.[4]

[1] The series commences in the first compartment to the right of the central, or Western door, as you face it from within, standing at the font. The Second, Sixth and Tenth compartments represent S. Ambrose and S. Augustine, S. Gregory and S. Jerome, S. Martin and S. Sylvester; the remainder are as follows:—1. The Annunciation to Zacharias; 3. The Birth of S. John; 4. An Angel leading him, while a child, into the wilderness; 5. S. John preaching; 7. S. John baptizing; 8. Pointing out Our Saviour to his disciples; 9. Baptizing Our Saviour; 11. Before Herod; 12. Led to prison, while, to the right, his two disciples are seen carrying his message to Christ; 13. Our Saviour performing miracles of mercy in presence of John's disciples, in reply to his message; 14. The two disciples relating to John what they had seen; 15. John's decapitation; and 16. Herod's feast, and the head brought in on a charger. Some of the frescoes, I may observe, on the lower walls of the Baptistery, though very inferior, are curious as works (apparently) of the earlier pale-colouring school of Northern Italy, after undergoing the influence of the Giotteschi.

[2] The merits of which must be reserved for discussion hereafter, as the influence of Niccola Pisano became paramount ultimately, even in the case of Vitale, Lippo Dalmasio, and others, whose earlier works belong to the same class as the Madonna of Orsanmichele, and evince a close affinity to the semi-Byzantine style.

[3] The compositions are chiefly from the patriarchal history. The colouring and drapery are very peculiar, some of the figures are distinguished by a *naïveté* and simplicity which occasionally rises towards dignity, but upon the whole they are inferior, and even below par in point of mechanical excellence. Rosini has engraved two of them, tom. ii. facing p. 147.

[4] The Baptism of Our Saviour and the Resurrection of Lazarus seem to be the oldest. There is a rather

Guariento, moreover, of Padua, an artist to be mentioned with high praise among the Giotteschi, and even Squarcione, the father of the classic school of Lombardy, would appear to have sprung originally from the same Roman family.

At Venice, on the contrary, ever, as you may remember, sympathetic with the East, a decided, though transient Italico-Byzantine revival took place as late as the middle of the fourteenth century, in the persons of Paolo Veneziano, Niccolò Semitecolo, and Lorenzo, of whom the two former, but especially Niccolò, attempted to infuse the contemporary improvements of central Italy into their distinct traditionary style, while the latter, after a similar effort, abandoned it altogether. Paolo painted the outer case of the Pala d' Oro, in the treasury of S. Mark's, and specimens of the works of Niccolò and Lorenzo may be seen in the interesting museum of the Venetian Academy.[1]

spirited one of S. George killing the dragon, the dragon's tail curling round the horse's leg. These are on the Southern wall of the presbytery.

[1] A large altar-piece, in a great number of compartments, of which the central, representing the Coronation of the Virgin, is much superior to the rest, is the most important work of Semitecolo. The only compositions worth notice are that of S. Francis renouncing his father in the market-place at Assisi, the third of the upper row, adapted apparently from a composition by Giotto at Assisi,—and the Last Judgment, in which one of the angels attendant on Our Saviour holds forth a scroll of the sun, moon, stars, etc., as if about to roll it up, while below, to the left, one vast tomb, surrounded by trees, appears to enshrine the spirits of the just, and fire descends as usual from the throne to consume the wicked, to the right of the picture. This is purely a revival, an Italianization of the Byzantine style, and as such the picture is very curious. In the robes of Our Saviour and the Virgin the lights are done in gold, in the *trictrac* manner, so common with the Byzantines. Blue rays, shaped like the blade of a sword, descend from the circlet symbolical of heaven, when the interference of Deity is expressed. Something very like this occurs in the paintings of Tintoretto at Venice and even in the Annunciation by Titian on the staircase of the Confreria di S. Rocco, one of the many reminiscences of Byzantium in his early works. Four other of Niccolò's pictures, one of them signed 'Nicholeto Simetecolo de Venetia,' another dated 1367—and representing S. Sebastian reproving the Emperors Maximian and Diocletian, his being shot at, his martyrdom, beaten to death with clubs, and his burial—are preserved in the Libreria del Duomo, at Padua. The Burial is the best, it is well grouped, the colouring neither very warm nor very pale, the expression tame. They are highly finished. Lorenzo is an artist of far higher merit. The earliest of his works would appear to be the immense picture in compartments, formerly in S. Antonio di Castello, now in the Academy at Venice. The Byzantine influence is still visible in it, but in his later works in the same gallery it wholly disappears. His colouring is soft and warm, betraying, if I mistake not, the influence of the early German school of Cologne. We shall have repeated occasion, hereafter, to notice the influence of Byzantium, long lingering, and perpetually reappearing and asserting itself in the development of art at Venice.

It would prolong this sketch unnecessarily to notice the traces of these Semi-Byzantine revivals discoverable long after the direct succession had in each several district failed, and the influence of Niccola Pisano become predominant in Italy —at Siena longer than at Florence, at Bologna longer than at Siena, at Venice longer than at Bologna; while in Western Lombardy, and at Asti, in particular, as late as the pontificate of Leo X., artists might be found, descendants apparently in the direct line from the original Roman school, who perpetuated many of the worst peculiarities of the Byzantine school in the style of the worst contemporaries of the Menologion.[1]

I should have brought this letter more speedily to a close, had I not wished you to appreciate the Sculpture and Painting of Italy in all their varied relations, nor would the "bright chambers of the East" have revealed Niccola Pisano sooner for my shaking the hour-glass. There is a freshness too in the half-hour's walk immediately before sunrise, which insensibly begets a brisker step and a more discursive lip than may be maintained in the heat of the day, when the mouth is parched and the foot drags heavily onward. "Absit omen!" but to a pedestrian like yourself this similitude may serve possibly as a Janus-faced apology.

[1] See for example a picture by Ambrose of Asti, dated 1514, in the Academy of Pisa, and more especially the compositions on the gradino. The picture nevertheless displays points of originality and merit. In the central compartment Mary Magdalen pours the ointment over Our Saviour's head, which I never saw elsewhere, and his conversation with her (as identified with Mary, the sister of Lazarus), on the gradino, though rude, is full of feeling. 'S. Orsola, regina di Bretagna' is represented in the compartment to the right, with her Vision, the Voyage of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, and her Martyrdom, on the gradino,—and to the left we behold 'S. Ilaria di Barcalone' (Barcelona), a really beautiful figure, with her exposure to the flames, and her decollation, below; a hand, as if from heaven, holds the sword that has despatched her, and her soul flies up to heaven in the shape of a little white bird. The rocks in the background are exactly like those of the Menologion, to which the whole composition bears a singular resemblance. This picture belongs to a class whose interest, like that of S. Umiltà, is of a documentary description—rude indeed, and of little worth in themselves, but valuable as witnesses in the history of art.

CHRISTIAN ART OF MODERN EUROPE.

PERIOD I.

ARCHITECTURE.

Development of the Christian Element, Spirit—Lombard and Gothic, or Pointed Architecture—Rise of Sculpture and Painting—Expression.

III. NICCOLA PISANO AND HIS SCHOOL — RISE AND RESTORATION OF SCULPTURE, IN CONNECTION WITH GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE — PREPARATION FOR GHIBERTI AND DONATELLO.

SECT. 1. *Pisa—Niccola and Giovanni Pisano.*
SECT. 2. *Florence—Andrea Pisano and Orcagna.*
SECT. 3. *Siena.*
SECT. 4. *Naples.*

LETTER III.

NICCOLA PISANO AND HIS SCHOOL.

Rise and Restoration of Sculpture, in connection with Gothic Architecture—Preparation for Ghiberti and Donatello.

Section 1.—Pisa—Niccola and Giovanni Pisano.

In comparing the advent of Niccola Pisano to that of the sun at his rising, I am conscious of no exaggeration; on the contrary, it is the only simile by which I can hope to give you an adequate impression of his brilliancy and power relatively to the age in which he flourished. Those sons of Erebus, the American Indians, fresh from their traditional subterranean world, and gazing for the first time on the gradual dawning of day in the East, could not have been more dazzled, more astounded when the sun actually appeared, than the popes and podestàs, friars and freemasons must have been in the thirteenth century, when from among the Biduinos, Bonannos and Antelamis of the twelfth, Niccola emerged in his glory, sovereign and supreme, a fount of light, diffusing warmth and radiance over Christendom. It might be too much to parallel him in actual genius with Dante and Shakspeare; they stand alone and unapproachable, each on his distinct pinnacle of the temple of Christian song,—and yet neither of them can boast such extent and durability of influence, for whatever of highest excellence has been achieved in Sculpture and Painting, not in Italy only but throughout Europe, has been in obedience to the impulse he primarily gave, and in following up the principle which he first struck out. I write this, fearless of contradiction, for you will not, I am sure, misunderstand me as proposing Niccola's men and women as models for an

academy; I think and speak of the immortal spirit, not of bones and muscles,—though even in that point of view he merits no small respect. But to descend to specification :—

Niccola's peculiar praise is this,—that in practice at least, if not in theory, he first established the principle that the study of nature, corrected by the ideal of the antique, and animated by the spirit of Christianity, personal and social, can alone lead to excellence in art, each of the three elements of human nature—Matter, Mind and Spirit—being thus brought into union and co-operation in the service of God, in due relative harmony and subordination. I cannot over-estimate the importance of this principle ; it was on this that, consciously or unconsciously, Niccola himself worked,—it has been by following it that Donatello and Ghiberti, Leonard, Raphael and Michael Angelo have risen to glory. The Sienese school and the Florentine, minds contemplative and dramatic, are alike beholden to it for whatever success has attended their efforts. Like a treble-stranded rope, it drags after it the triumphal car of Christian Art. But if either of the strands be broken, if either of the three elements be pursued disjointedly from the other two, the result is, in each respective case, grossness, pedantry or weakness,—the exclusive imitation of Nature produces a Caravaggio, a Rubens, a Rembrandt—that of the Antique, a Pellegrino di Tibaldo and a David,—and though there be a native chastity and taste in religion, which restrains those who worship it too abstractedly from Intellect and Sense, from running into such extremes, it cannot at least supply that mechanical apparatus which will enable them to soar,—such devotees must be content to gaze up into heaven, like angels cropt of their wings. I might cite many instances of this,—even Raphael occasionally offends the eye by inaccuracy of design. The principle, you see, is simple enough; I may recur to it hereafter, when the unconscious accumulation of examples shall have enabled you to appreciate its universal application. We will now proceed to inquire how Niccola Pisano struck it out, and what he has left behind him to justify these observations.

Of the date of Niccola's birth no record, I believe, exists ; it probably took place about the beginning of the thirteenth century.[1] Nor is there any certainty as to his first instructor

[1] This may be gathered from an inscription on the fountain of Perugia, dating between the years 1274, when the fountain was begun, and 1277,

in art; it may have been Bonanno, but the discrepancy of age is great between them. His earlier years appear to have been devoted to Architecture; I have elsewhere estimated his claims to distinction as the introducer of the style usually termed Tuscan or Italian Gothic.

His improvement in Sculpture is attributable, in the first instance, to the study of an ancient sarcophagus, brought from Greece by the ships of Pisa in the eleventh century, and which, after having stood beside the door of the Duomo for many centuries as the tomb of the Countess Beatrice, mother of the celebrated Matilda, has been recently removed to the Campo Santo. The front is sculptured in bas-relief, in two compartments, the one representing Hippolytus rejecting the suit of Phædra, the other his departure for the chase,—such at least is the most plausible interpretation. The sculpture, if not super-excellent, is substantially good, and the benefit derived from it by Niccola is perceptible on the slightest examination of his works. Other remains of antiquity are preserved at Pisa, which he may have also studied, but this was the classic well from which he drew those waters which became wine when poured into the hallowing chalice of Christianity.[1] I need scarcely add that the mere presence of such models would have availed little, had not nature endowed him with the quick eye and the intuitive apprehension of genius, together with a purity of taste which taught him how to select, how to modify and how to reinspire the germs of excellence thus presented to him.

His earliest work is probably the Deposition, over the left-hand door of the façade of the Cathedral at Lucca, sculptured in 1233. Several years, apparently, elapsed before he resumed the chisel;[2] but having once done so, he seems to have worked

when Niccola was dead, and in which inscription he is described as being then in his seventy-fourth year.—*Memorie Istor. intorno all' Arca di S. Domenico*, by the *Marchese Virgilio Davia*, 1842, p. 34. He is designed in the records of Pisa, 'Magister Nichole quondam Petri de Senis Ser Blasii Pisani,'—the son, that is to say, of Peter of Siena, the son of Ser Blasius, or Biagio, of Pisa,—from which Ciampi infers that his father may have been born at Siena, while his grandfather lived there as Podestà, or in some honourable office, and that neither of these, his progenitors, were artists. *Notizie Inedite*, etc., p. 35.

[1] The sarcophagus is engraved by the younger Lasinio, in the 'Monumenti Sepolcrali della Toscana,' Flor., folio, 1819, tav. 41. For illustrations of Niccola's study of the antique, see Cicognara, tom. i. tav. 13 and 15.

[2] Except the Deposition, and the Arca di S. Domenico, Vasari mentions no sculptures by Niccola prior to the pulpit of Pisa, but a great number of works in architecture.

on, continuously, for a lengthened period, during which he executed the three great works on which his reputation rests, —the pulpits, namely, of the Baptistery at Pisa and of the Cathedral at Siena, and the 'Arca,' or shrine, of S. Domenic, for the church of that Saint at Bologna. The first of these was finished in 1260, as appears by the inscription; the contract for the second was drawn up in 1266,—and, from the date of the translation of S. Domenic's remains, there is reason to believe that the intervening years were dedicated to the preparation of the receptacle in which they were to be deposited,[1] unquestionably the most original and important work that he has bequeathed to us. Each of these monuments is worthy of a minute examination.

The Pulpit of Pisa is perhaps the most elegant in Italy. It is of white marble, six-sided, and supported by seven Corinthian pillars, six corresponding to the angles of the hexagon, and resting alternately on the ground and on the backs of lions, the seventh considerably thicker and in the centre, resting on a whole clump of human figures and monsters. The bas-reliefs are five in number. The first represents the Nativity, the traditional Byzantine composition, very slightly varied; the reclining figure of the Virgin, originally imitated from the ancient statues, but long devoid of grace and beauty, is here restored to not a little of its pristine character; and to show his skill in the delineation of nature, even in the lower grades of animal life, Niccola has introduced, among the attendant sheep, a goat scratching its ear, with admirable effect,—an attempt that he has repeated, with the like success, on the pulpit of Siena.

The second compartment, the Adoration of the Kings, is perhaps the best of the series, admirable in composition, calm and quiet, the kings full of majesty, the younger of the three already a little idealised, while the Virgin is the dignified mother of Christ; it was not till afterwards that the idea of virginity prevailed over that of maternity, or rather that artists attempted to blend the two in their delineations of the maiden mother of Nazareth. The three horses also, behind the kings, are full of spirit.

The Presentation in the Temple, and the Crucifixion (in-

[1] *Davia, Memorie Istoriche*, etc., p. 42; *Rosini, Storia*, etc., tom. i. p. 165. According to Vasari, the Arca was sculptured in 1225; Count Carlo Malvasia, the historian of Bolognese art, was the first to remark the absurdity of this, S. Domenic having only been canonised in 1234.

cluding the Deposition), follow,—and lastly, the final Judgment —a most remarkable composition, full of attempts, wonderful for the time, to delineate the naked and emulate the antique.

Throughout the series the composition is clear and intelligible, the gesture calm and noble, the expression true and unexaggerated, the drapery dignified and free; and, if a fault is to be found, it is that the heads are generally somewhat too large in proportion to the bodies, a failing incidental to all early efforts of the kind.

I cannot sufficiently regret the destruction of the gates of Bonanno, for their proximity would have been the surest witness to Niccola's merit. As it is, we may well wonder—to give more appropriate application to an expression Vasari uses with regard to Cimabue—"come in tante tenebre potesse veder Niccola tanto lume."[1]

The 'Arca di S. Domenico' is a work of greater extent than the one I have just described,—rich to a degree in general design, yet singularly sober and simple in execution, and altogether a most satisfactory performance.

Its prominent features are the six large bas-reliefs, delineating the principal events in the legend of S. Domenic, disposed, two behind, one at each extremity, and two in front, between which last is fixed a small statue of the Virgin, crowned, and holding the infant Saviour in an attitude which almost every one of his successors has imitated during the following century, none however equalling the original. The face has a sweet expression, though somewhat round and unideal,[2] but the attitude and drapery are full of grace and elegance. A small statue of Our Saviour occupies the correspondent position at the back of the Arca, and the four Doctors of the Church are sculptured at the angles. The *operculum*, or lid, was added about two hundred years afterwards.

The series of bas-reliefs begins and ends at the back, running round from left to right. The subjects are briefly as follows:—

1. The Papal confirmation of the rule of the Dominican order.—S. Domenic, a Spaniard, of the illustrious Gothic house of Guzman, having formed the scheme of a new religious

[1] This pulpit is engraved, as a whole, in Agincourt, *Sculpture*, pl. 32, and the Nativity and the Adoration of the Kings may be seen in plates 14 and 12 of the first volume of Cicognara.

[2] The features seem, as a general rule, to be more full and round in proportion as the Semi-Byzantine influence prevails in European art.

fraternity, expressly devoted to the defence of the faith against heresy, applied to the Pope for his sanction, but unsuccessfully; the following night his Holiness beheld, in a dream, the church of the Lateran giving way, and the Saint propping it with his shoulders; the warning was obvious, and the confirmation was accordingly granted. Each step in the march of this important event is represented in a distinct group in this compartment.

II. The appearance of the Apostles Peter and Paul to S. Domenic, while praying in St. Peter's,—S. Peter presented him with a staff, S. Paul with a book, bidding him go forth and preach to Christendom.—This is a very beautiful composition; attitude, expression, drapery are alike commendable. To the right S. Domenic is seen sending forth the friars preachers ("fratres predicatores") on their mission to mankind.

III. S. Domenic praying for the restoration to life of the young Napoleon, nephew of the Cardinal Stefano, who had been thrown from his horse and killed, as seen in the foreground; his mother kneels behind, joining in the prayer.—The horse is excellent, the figures are singularly free from stiffness and true to nature, some of them even graceful.

IV. S. Domenic's doctrine tested by fire.—After preaching against the Albigenses, he had written out his argument and delivered it to one of his antagonists, who showing it to his companions as they stood round the fire, they determined to submit it to that ordeal; the scroll was thrice thrown in, and thrice leapt out unburnt.

V. The miracle of the loaves.—The brethren, forty in number, assembled one day for dinner, but nothing was producible from the buttery except a single loaf of bread; S. Domenic was dividing it among them, when two beautiful youths entered the refectory with baskets full of loaves which they distributed to the fraternity, and then immediately disappeared.[1] The legend is here most happily told; the forty monks are reduced to six, the angels pour the loaves (crossed sacramental wafers) into S. Domenic's lap, who distributes them to his brethren. The composition is extremely simple, the angel youths singularly graceful, and the friars have that peculiar type of countenance which is not merely conventional

[1] A miracle resembling this is told by Ruffinus of the Abbot Apollonius, *Rosweyde, Vitæ Patrum*, p. 463.

in art, but may still be seen in every monastery, as if produced in obedience to some law of nature attendant on the profession of celibacy.

VI. and lastly, the Profession of the youthful deacon, Reginald.—He fell suddenly ill when on the eve of entering the order; his life was despaired of; S. Domenic interceded for him with the Virgin, who appeared to him the following night, when on the point of death, accompanied by two lovely maidens, anointed him with a salve of marvellous virtue, accompanying the unction with words of mystery and power, and promised him complete recovery within three days, showing him at the same moment a pattern of the Dominican robe as she willed it to be worn thenceforward, varied from the fashion previously in use; three days afterwards he received it from the Saint's hands, in perfect health, as the Virgin had foretold. These incidents are represented with singular grace and beauty in this concluding composition.

With the exception of the Adoration of the Kings on the pulpit at Pisa, I know nothing by Niccola Pisano equal to these bas-reliefs. Felicity of composition, truth of expression, ease, dignity and grace of attitude, noble draperies, together with the negative but emphatic merit of perfect propriety, are their prevailing characteristics; while the whole are finished with unsurpassed minuteness and delicacy. And you will recollect too that these compositions are wholly Niccola's own,—he had no traditional types to guide and assist him; the whole is a new coinage, clear and sharp, from the mint of his own genius. Altogether, the 'Arca di S. Domenico' is a marvel of beauty, a shrine of pure and Christian feeling, which you will pilgrimise to with deeper reverence every time you revisit Bologna.[1]

A much shorter notice will suffice for the last great work of Niccola, the Pulpit of Siena. The subjects are the same as at Pisa, with the substitution of the Flight into Egypt and the Massacre of the Innocents for the Presentation, and the enlargement of the concluding composition, the Last Judgment. The Nativity and Adoration of the Kings are little changed; the Massacre and Crucifixion are injured by the caricature of grief, and the same censure may be passed, though in a less

[1] The bas-reliefs above described are engraved in three large sheets, to accompany the essay of the Marchese V. Davia, above cited. See also Cicognara, tom. i. tav. 8, 9, 10.

degree, on the Judgment, in which the Byzantine traditional composition has been followed so far as space permitted. But the boldness and daring displayed in the naked figures, twisted and contorted into every imaginable attitude, are wonderful, and evince the skill with which Niccola drew at once on the antique and on nature, flinging himself on truth where beauty failed him,—for the Laocoon was still entombed under the ruined baths of Caracalla. The chief fault is the confusion, which is great, and in this respect, if I mistake not, Niccola sins throughout the series. The eye is vexed by the mass of figures and looks away for relief, and this is perhaps the reason why the Caryatides, which front the pillars, please one so much.

I should say that this pulpit betrayed a decadence on the part of Niccola, did it not appear by the contract for its execution that his scholars, Lapo and Arnolfo, and his son Giovanni, were then working under him; to them probably the weaker portions are attributable. The terms of remuneration are curious; Niccola was to have eight *soldi* a-day, his scholars six a-piece, and his son four.[1]

I have little more to add respecting this wonderful man. His latter days were spent in repose at Pisa, but the precise year of his death is uncertain; Vasari fixes it in 1275,—it could not have been much later.[2] He was buried in the Campo Santo. Of his personal character we, alas! know nothing; even Shakspeare is less a stranger to us. But that it was noble, simple and consistent, and free from the petty foibles that too frequently beset genius, may be fairly presumed from the works he has left behind him, and from the eloquent silence of tradition.

A word only in conclusion. I have said enough perhaps of Niccola's influence on Art in a general point of view, but I wish to impress it upon you that it was special, direct and

[1] See Dellavalle's 'Lettere Sanesi,' tom. i. p. 179. For engravings of the bas-reliefs see Cicognara, tom. i. tav. 8, 13, 14.

[2] A paper is extant, dated 10 September, 1277, by which King Charles of Naples grants to the town of Perugia the services of Arnolfo, disciple of Niccola, in order to finish the fountain in the Piazza, abandoned by Giovanni through his sudden journey to Pisa. *Davia, Memorie*, etc., p. 34. Now Vasari mentions that after completing the fountain (which it seems from the preceding notice was left unfinished), Giovanni departed for Pisa, in order to see his father, who was old and unwell, and that through his delay at Florence, his father in the meantime died. Both King Charles and Vasari evidently speak of the same journey, and this coincidence of testimony may be considered to fix the death of Niccola in 1276, or the beginning of 1277.

peremptory from the very first,—that, in Sculpture, it was felt in the vaults of S. Denis and in the remotest forests of Germany, before the close of the thirteenth century,—and that, in Painting, the schools of Giotto, of Siena and of Bologna, spring immediately from the Pulpits of Pisa and Siena, and the Ark of S. Domenic, in distinct streams, like the Ganges, Indus and Brahmaputra from the central peaks of Himalaya.

It is true that the characters of these schools (I allude especially to the Giottesque and Sienese) are different,—that while the Giottesque is Dramatic chiefly, the expression of that Activity of the Imagination which produced the Gothic architecture, the Sienese (including the later but kindred school of Umbria) is Contemplative, the expression of its Repose, sympathetic with the East, and previously developed in Lombard architecture. Nevertheless both, as schools, originate from Niccola Pisano,—neither could have started on its career without the impulse he gave—to the Dramatic by his historical compositions, to the Contemplative by his Madonna at Bologna, and the individual heads and figures scattered among his works—to both, by that master principle of Christian art which he had thought out and revealed, and within which, in fact, they both lay comprehended, in embryo, like heaven and earth within Brahma's egg. Not that either line, the Dramatic or Contemplative, was pursued exclusively of the other—not that Giotto and the Florentines did not paint as many Madonnas as the Sienese, nor that the Sienese did not produce a Duccio and a Simon di Memmo, but the current tendencies of the two schools set in respectively to these two poles,—and when either produced an artist of opposite sympathies, and of genius too masculine to compromise its originality, we shall generally find him in alliance with the rival school, and his pupils either dying out altogether after him, or returning to the banner from which their master had separated himself in the first instance. But this will be more clear hereafter. All I contend for at present is, that every school, contemplative and dramatic, must trace its pedigree to Niccola Pisano in the first instance.

We will now make acquaintance with the pupils of this great patriarch of art.

Three were mentioned a page or two back. Of Lapo nothing certain remains; of Arnolfo, the Gothic ciborium, or

tabernacle, at S. Paolo fuori le mura, at Rome, is the most important memorial; but the date recorded on it (1285) being subsequent to that of his settlement as architect at Florence, I fancy it must have been finished by his "famulus," or apprentice, "Pietro," whose name is associated with his own in the inscription.[1] This Pietro is supposed to have been one of the Cosmati family, who have executed several monuments at Rome, in the Pisan style, usually filling the field above the sarcophagus with mosaic-work, for which, as you may remember, they were celebrated, as the heirs of Fra Giacomo da Turrita.

Of Giovanni Pisano, son of Niccola and his heir in reputation, the third, and apparently youngest, of his fellow-workmen on the pulpit of Siena, I will speak anon, after doing justice to a pupil, or at least an imitator, far more able than either Lapo or Arnolfo, and who, I have little doubt, would have surpassed all his contemporaries had the light shone upon him in earlier life. This was Margaritone, mentioned in the preceding letter as painter of the hideous crucifix presented to Farinata degli Uberti between 1260 and 1266. Margaritone had been afterwards employed at Rome by Urban IV. in painting S. Peter's, but he there exchanged the brush for the chisel, on what occasion or after whose example we are not told, although Vasari intimates that his first sculptures were "alla Greca," or in the Byzantine taste,—from which, however, he adds, he purified himself after becoming acquainted with the works of Arnolfo and other sculptors of the Tuscan school. He subsequently settled at his native town, Arezzo, where, on the death of Gregory X, in 1275, he was chosen to sculpture his tomb, still preserved in the Cathedral,—the sole surviving relic of his skill, and a work of such excellence, that, remembering his productions in painting, it would be difficult to credit him with such an offspring, were not the paternity indisputable. The Pope slumbers on his sarcophagus, elevated on three pillars,—the whole overshadowed by a Gothic-arched canopy supported by two lateral columns, topped with pinnacles,—the simplest form of a design attributable probably to Niccola Pisano in the first instance, and which, as a generic type, distinguishes all the tombs sculptured by his school—the only material deficiency here being that of the two angels who are usually introduced withdrawing a

[1] This tabernacle is engraved in Agincourt, *Sculpture*, pl. 23.

curtain supposed to have concealed the body.[1] The effigy, in the present instance, is excellent, the drapery good; the sculptures on the sarcophagus, representing (in medallions shaped like the vesica piscis) the lamb carrying the cross, between four Apostles, half figures, precisely in the style of the Greek mosaics, at once remind one of Margaritone's original Byzantine prepossessions, and show how completely he had emancipated himself from the rigidity and formalism of his earlier style.[2] Whether he would have succeeded in composition is a different question, but these heads strike me as freer, more dignified and more graceful than anything I have seen by the far more celebrated Giovanni Pisano—to whom we must now do homage with that deference which the respectable heir of an Alfred or a Charlemagne is rightfully entitled to as his successor.

Giovanni was, in truth, a man of far inferior genius to his father. His *forte* lay in invention, but it was copious rather than select, and in investing his ideas with forms he was too apt to borrow them in the first instance from the pulpits of Pisa and Siena, and reissue them, starved and emaciated, as if from a beleaguered city. He profited little by the antique, either in form or spirit, and Nature shrank from his embrace. He is often sadly deficient in taste and propriety; his figures are not seldom ignoble in form and feature, and uncertain in action, and in compositions on a large scale fall into inextricable confusion. The wand, in short, which, waved by the father, commands the services of superior agencies, few in

[1] The general type was still preserved during the Second or Cinquecento period of Italian sculpture, the pointed of course being exchanged for the round-headed or classic arch. Singularly enough, the arrangement of the sarcophagus, effigy, etc., in these later monuments strikingly resembles that in the tombs of Palmyra, in the most ancient and best preserved of which, that (namely) of Manaius, erected A.D. 103, his statue (now destroyed) lay in a reclining posture, at the extremity of the tomb between two pillars half-embedded in the wall; these pillars supporting a sarcophagus covered with an embroidered cushion, on which the figure was represented a second time stretched out as a corpse —thus portraying him both in life and death, exactly as in the grand Gothic tombs, presently to be mentioned, at Naples. These identical results from common principles are very curious, and instances equally startling might be cited; at Petra, for instance, the broken pediments, intermediate urns, and general corrupt style of Bernini and Boromini, are anticipated in the excavations named *El Khasne* and *El Deir*,—the latter, especially, might be mistaken for a work of the seventeenth century. See the prints in Count Léon de Laborde's work on Arabia Petræa.

[2] This tomb is engraved in the 'Monumenti Sepolcrali della Toscana,' tav. 39.

number, who work his will with calmness and dignity, brings up for the son a crowd of inferior spirits, who do indeed what he bids them, but grumblingly, and with a jostling and bustle utterly devoid of dignity. Nevertheless there are exceptions to these censures, and when he fairly takes pains he acquits himself well; if he cannot breathe in the rare and lofty atmosphere where his father disports himself, he comes gracefully enough down on parting company with him, like an aeronaut with his parachute. I do not indeed think that Giovanni ever did himself justice; he needed the stimulus of competition; it was not merely the *prestige* of his father's fame,—there was literally no one to run against him; he walked the course, and still, I think, enjoys a reputation superior to his merits, like certain beauties of last century, whose portraits clearly prove that their vaunted charms were relative merely to the general plainness of their contemporaries. Considered as an architect, indeed, he merits far higher praise.

His earliest work in Sculpture was the fountain of Perugia, begun by himself and completed by Arnolfo,—a beautiful and graceful structure, and covered with allegorical figures, much injured but of great merit, and in the design of which he is supposed to have been assisted by Niccola.[1] Returning to Pisa on his father's death, he was received with pride by his fellow-citizens, and appointed architect of the Campo Santo, which was built after his designs between the years 1278 and 1283. After this he visited Naples at the invitation of Charles I., of Anjou, to build a castle and a church, but the following year, leaving their prosecution to the care of the architect Masuccio, he returned, through Siena, to Tuscany, and settled for a time at Arezzo, where he sculptured the marble shrine of S. Donato for the Cathedral, a work exceeding the 'Arca di S. Domenico' in magnificence, but far below it in every other quality. The composition, indeed, of the bas-reliefs is often good, but the execution is very rude, even in those portions which can with least likelihood be imputed to his assistants.[2] He sins even against propriety in the Death of the Virgin (one of the larger compartments), where S. John

[1] See Davia's 'Memorie,' etc., p. 38. An interesting work descriptive of this fountain has been published by Signor Vermiglioli, the biographer of Perugino and Pinturicchio.

[2] Several of these, according to Vasari, were Germans, who worked under him rather for instruction than gain, and who were afterwards employed at Orvieto, and in S. Peter's at Rome, under Pope Boniface VIII.

is represented puffing at his censer, which is about to go out, with distended cheeks, and in an attitude worthy of Buffalmacco or Bassano.

This shrine of S. Donato is by many considered Giovanni's finest work, but I cannot give it the preference to the bas-reliefs on the *facciata* of the Duomo at Orvieto, by many ascribed to his father, though erroneously so, as is evident from their comparative imperfection in design, from the frequent emaciation of the figures, and from an almost uniform deficiency of that grace which plays like a breeze of spring round his father's steps. Yet they have high merit of another sort; the tale of creation and of the loss of Eden, with its first-fruits, the fratricide of Cain, is ably told and well contrasted with the Judgment, in which the Byzantine composition reappears in all its essential details; the naked figures are sometimes extremely good, but grief and passion are sadly caricatured, and the Satan is contemptible. The happiest innovation (anticipated indeed in the mosaics of Venice) is the introduction of two angels attendant on Our Lord throughout the work of Creation and his subsequent intercourse with man; their floating attitude may have suggested to Ghiberti his exquisite amplification of this idea on the 'Gate of Paradise,' the portal of the Baptistery of Florence.[1]

The remaining sculptures of the *facciata* are admittedly the work of Goro, Agostino and Agnolo, and other of Giovanni's Sienese pupils; they are not of transcendent merit.

Giovanni had returned to Tuscany before 1297, with the

[1] That these bas-reliefs are by Niccola Pisano is against all probability, as he died before September, 1277, and the cathedral was not commenced till 1290. On the other hand, they are much superior to the adjacent sculptures by Goro, Agostino, and Agnolo, and Giovanni was the only sculptor, then living, capable of executing them; we may safely therefore pronounce them his, — while, that they were early works, would appear from the consideration that the style of the pulpit at Pistoja, which occupied him from 1297 to 1301, is much inferior, and that between the completion of the shrine at Arezzo and the commencement of the said pulpit, a space of time intervenes, unoccupied by any extant or recorded work, and which might well have been devoted to the execution of the bas-reliefs in question, — in confirmation of which, Vasari, although attributing them to Niccola, intimates a visit of Giovanni to Orvieto shortly after his residence at Arezzo. We may conclude, therefore, that they were begun in, or shortly after, 1290, nearly at the same moment with the cathedral they were intended to adorn. Possibly Niccola's designs may have been followed by Giovanni; his spirit, at all events, presided over his son's chisel. They have been engraved, although inaccurately, in the folio atlas accompanying the history of the Duomo by Dellavalle. See also Cicognara, tom. i. tav. 17.

object, it is said, of examining the works of architecture and painting with which Arnolfo and Giotto were then decorating Florence. He does not however appear to have worked there. His last great works were the pulpit of the Cathedral at Pistoja, finished in 1301 after four years' labour, and that of the Cathedral at Pisa, now taken to pieces; both of them are inferior to his earlier efforts, alike in originality and execution. The latter, begun in 1302 and finished in 1311, was suspended for a year or two, on the death of Pope Benedict XI., in 1304, when he was chosen to execute his mausoleum for the church of S. Domenico, at Perugia,—a work in which he was much more successful.[1] Giovanni died in a good old age, but in what year is uncertain; Vasari says in 1320, but he elsewhere contradicts himself. He was buried in his father's tomb in the Campo Santo, under the arcades himself had reared, according to a graceful usage which has ever since obtained in Italy, of burying the children of art in the principal scenes of their genius and their fame.

After Giovanni's death the Pisan school split into two principal branches, that of Florence, which held an undisputed pre-eminence till the death of Orcagna, and that of Siena, originally far inferior, but which took the lead during the latter years of the fourteenth century, and only yielded it to Ghiberti and Donatello at the beginning of the fifteenth. The Neapolitan school must also be reckoned as a branch of the Pisan, tracing its origin to Giovanni, and possibly even higher; it is interesting from its isolation, and from its partial descent from the German architects who flourished at Naples in the thirteenth century. I shall speak of each of these three branches in succession, merely premising that of the less distinguished pupils of Giovanni the only one worth mentioning (and for his good fortune rather than his merit) was Giovanni di Balduccio, of Pisa. He was invited to Milan by the Signor, Azzo Visconti, and spent many years in his service, and a specimen of his talents may be seen in the shrine of S. Peter Martyr in the church of S. Eustorgio, executed in 1333 and the six following years, and in which the legend of the Saint is represented in a series of bas-reliefs, very rude indeed, but life-like, and in some of the allegorical figures not

[1] This tomb is engraved in Cicognara, tom. i. tav. 21.—It stands in the north transept.

undeserving of praise.[1] The succession of this sculptor seems to have endured for several generations in Western Lombardy, and the magnificent tomb of Can-Signore della Scala, at Verona, is a witness to their merit, although it be of an architectural rather than sculptural character, the bas-reliefs being very inferior, when closely inspected.[2]

Section 2.—Florence—Andrea Pisano and Orcagna.

We now enter upon a new period in the history of Italian sculpture, correspondent with the lives of Andrea Pisano, the ablest scholar of Giovanni, and of the one great pupil of Andrea, the still more celebrated Orcagna.

Hitherto, you may have observed, neither Giovanni nor Niccola had been employed at Florence, while every neighbouring city had been vieing for their services. Political hostility would only partially account for such apathy, but one's surprise ceases on recollecting that Florence was the last of the three Tuscan republics to take the lead in politics, and that she was only commencing her grand works of architecture when Pisa and Siena were completing theirs. Once, however, entered on the field of art, she cultivated it with an industry and talent which made speedy and ample amends, to herself and Italy, for former neglect. At the period of which I speak, Arnolfo had been for several years in her employ as public architect, and at his death in 1300, S. Maria del Fiore, the new Cathedral, was considerably advanced towards completion. Giotto, a young man, but already the acknowledged prince of painting, and of a genius which qualified him to excel indifferently in either of the three sister arts, and thoroughly to appreciate the relation they bear to each other, was appointed to design the façade in the richest Gothic magnificence—pinnacle and

[1] See Agincourt, *Sculpture*, pl. 34. The story begins at the back of the shrine with the preaching of the saint in the piazza of Milan, his visiting the sick and giving speech to the dumb, and is continued through his martyrdom, and the translation of his body, to his funeral ceremony, and his appearance in succour to mariners in a storm, the two latter subjects being represented in front.

[2] The sculptor of this tomb was Boninus à Compigliono, or Da Campione, one of a whole family of *scarpellini*, stone-cutters or carvers, mechanics rather than artists, like those of Fiesole, yet evidently men of taste if not of genius, and who had flourished in the Milanese, on the district from which they derived their name, between the lakes of Como and Lugano, since the close of the twelfth century. See Cicognara, tom. i. pp. 371, 221, etc.

niche, statue and bas-relief; his drawings were approved of, but sculptors being scarce at Florence, and no one appearing capable of suitably executing them in marble, Andrea, already favourably known by some figures at Pisa, was summoned for the purpose, then in the thirty-first year of his age. He set to work immediately on the façade, and his first productions, the statues of Boniface VIII. between S. Peter and S. Paul, and some prophets, gave so much satisfaction that he seems to have been indefinitely engaged as sculptor-general to the city, to execute whatever works of importance might thence-forward be needed in his peculiar walk of art. From this time he adopted Florence as his country, and dwelt there for the remainder of his days, the object of universal respect and admiration.

Andrea's merit was indeed very great; his works, compared with those of Giovanni and Niccola Pisano, exhibit a progress in design, grace, composition and mechanical execution, at first sight unaccountable—a chasm yawns between them, deep and broad, over which the younger artist seems to have leapt at a bound,—the stream that sank into the earth at Pisa emerges a river at Florence. The solution of the mystery lies in the peculiar plasticity of Andrea's genius, and the ascendency acquired over it by Giotto, although a younger man, from the first moment they came into contact. Giotto had learnt from the works of Niccola the grand principle of Christian art, imperfectly apprehended by Giovanni and his other pupils, and by following up which he had in the natural course of things improved upon his prototype. He now repaid to Sculpture, in the person of Andrea, the sum of improvement in which he stood her debtor in that of Niccola,—so far, that is to say, as the treasury of Andrea's mind was capable of taking it in, for it would be an error to suppose that Andrea profited by Giotto in the same independent manner or degree that Giotto profited by Niccola; Andrea's was not a mind of strong individuality; he became completely Giottesque in thought and style, and as Giotto and he continued intimate friends through life, the impression never wore off; most fortunate, indeed, that it was so, for the welfare of Sculpture in general, and for that of the buildings in decorating which the friends worked in concert, to wit, the Duomo and its dependencies, to which, after this necessary digression, I now return.

After finishing the prophets, Andrea sculptured various

other statues for the façade, but how shall I tell you that this façade, so rich, so beautiful, exists no longer? It was taken down towards the close of the fourteenth century, when two-thirds finished, to be replaced by another more magnificent, but which was demolished, in its turn, in the sixteenth, to be renewed no more except by the flat, meaningless, blank wall, that repels the eye at present. Of the component parts of Andrea's original structure, the greater portion has long been destroyed; some of the statues (whether by a happier or less enviable doom) lie scattered in holes and corners throughout Florence, and the four Doctors of the Church, in particular, may still be seen at the foot of the ascent to Poggio Imperiale, metamorphosed into poets, and christened Homer, Virgil, Dante and Petrarch.[1]

Happily, Andrea's most important work, the bronze door of the Baptistery, still exists, and with every prospect of preservation. It is adorned with bas-reliefs from the history of S. John, with allegorical figures of virtues and heads of prophets, all most beautiful,—the historical compositions distinguished by simplicity and purity of feeling and design, the allegorical virtues perhaps still more expressive, and full of poetry in their symbols and attitudes; the whole series is executed with a delicacy of workmanship till then unknown in bronze, a precision yet softness of touch resembling that of a skilful performer on the pianoforte. Andrea was occupied upon it for nine years, from 1330 to 1339, and when finished, fixed in its place, and exposed to view, the public enthusiasm exceeded all bounds; the Signoria, with unexampled condescension, visited it in state, accompanied by the ambassadors of Naples and Sicily, and bestowed on the fortunate artist the honour and privilege of citizenship, seldom accorded to foreigners unless of lofty rank or exalted merit. The door remained in its original position—facing the Cathedral—till superseded in that post of honour by the 'Gate of Paradise,' cast by Ghiberti. It was then transferred to the Southern entrance of the Baptistery, facing the Misericordia.[2]

While occupied on this great work, Andrea found time to carve, in white marble, the tabernacle, or ciborium, for the

[1] See Förster's 'Beiträge,' etc., p. 152. The prospect is held forth this year (1845) of a restoration of the façade in the spirit of the fourteenth century.

[2] The bas-reliefs of this door have been engraved most beautifully by the younger Lasinio, in the thin folio entitled 'Le tre porte del Battistero di S. Giovanni di Firenze,' 1821.

interior of the building; it was destroyed at a later period, and replaced by the tawdry accumulation of cloud and tinsel that disgraces the spot at present. A fragment or two serve now as balustrades to the altar of the little chapel of S. Ansano, below Fiesole, having been removed thither by the late antiquarian Canon Bandini, along with many other ejected sculptures and paintings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Lastly, Andrea sculptured the greater number of the bas-reliefs which range round the basement of the Campanile,—admirably executed, but of which, as the composition of Giotto, I shall postpone speaking to a future moment. Whether the three statues niched higher up in the Campanile, facing the South, were also after Giotto's design, I cannot say.

From this extreme point of Andrea's career we may glance back to the door of the Baptistery with a fairer chance than we could otherwise expect of forming a reasonable opinion on the disputed point, whether the design of its bas-reliefs be his own or Giotto's. On the one hand Vasari asserts that Giotto had made a "bellissimo disegno" for the door; and a still older authority, the biographer of Brunellesco, who wrote about 1471, refers to his having done so as an admitted fact, and still more specifically, speaking of the "quadri delle porte che v' erano, di bronzo, che v' è la stòria del Santo Giovanni, che si feciono per maestri forestieri nel secolo passato, benchè 'l disegno delle figure, che si feciono di cera, fusse di Giotto dipintore:"[1] On the other, Vasari's own testimony to Andrea's fertility of invention, as himself possessing a series of illustrations by his hand of the whole book of the Apocalypse,—and the supposed indignity that Andrea must have felt in executing the designs of another artist, are urged in favour of their originality—arguments, of which the latter is nullified by the indisputable fact that two out of his three great works he did so execute, while the former, if allowed its full value, merely proves him a most accomplished imitator, the compositions in question being thoroughly Giottesque,—for, in truth, his genius had taken the hue of Giotto's more completely than ever chamelion took that of the leaf he fed upon. I cannot therefore think such presumptive pleading entitled to be heard against the positive testimony of Vasari and his predecessor.

Andrea's plasticity extended, I fear, from his genius to his

[1] Printed at the close of Baldinucci's life of Brunellesco, ed. Flor., 1812, p. 149.

moral character. It is painful to find the guest of Florence, who had not merely enjoyed the love of her citizens but been inscribed among their number and promoted to the highest offices of the state, lending himself, at the close of his life, to the schemes of her tyrant, Walter de Brienne, Duke of Athens, and fortifying the public palace and the walls of the city against her liberties.[1] He survived the Duke's expulsion two years, dying in 1345, in his seventy-sixth year.

Andrea Pisano left two sons, both of them sculptors, but one only worthy of mention—Nino, surnamed, like his father, Pisano, but who, having been his assistant through life, has left few original works. The most remarkable are in the little chapel of the Spina at Pisa,—three statues, of the Virgin and child, attended to the right and left by S. Peter and S. Paul (in one of whom he has represented his father Andrea, whose face seems to have been disfigured by an enormous wen), and a bas-relief of the Virgin suckling the infant Jesus, very coarse and vulgar, but remarkable for a delicacy and waxen smoothness of workmanship unequalled in his age except by his fellow-pupil—so often mentioned already, and to be noticed more especially hereafter, under his highest character, as a painter—the illustrious Orcagna,—whose tabernacle in the Orsanmichele may be reckoned, with the gate of S. Giovanni and the shrine of S. Domenico, as the third among the precious relics of the Pisan school.

During the early half of the fourteenth century the Madonna, painted by Ugolino of Siena, and attached to a pilaster in the loggia of Orsanmichele, as mentioned in the preceding letter, had acquired the character of a miraculous image,—crowds resorted to it for devotion, and it was determined to convert the loggia into a chapel by filling up the arches with a continuous wall. This was done under the superintendence of Taddeo Gaddi; and a Company or association was at the same time formed in honour of the Madonna of Orsanmichele,—it speedily rose into the highest veneration for charity and benevolence. At this juncture, the great plague of 1348 rolled down on Italy; Florence suffered fearfully; citizens without number, pest-stricken themselves, after seeing their whole families die before them, bequeathed their all to the Company for distribution to the poor in

[1] The duke would not employ Taddeo Gaddi, being a native Florentine.—*Vasari.* The contrast is not much in Andrea's favour.

honour of the Virgin; the offerings of gratitude, after the plague had ceased, were also considerable, and the total sum thus accumulated was found, on final computation, to amount to more than three hundred thousand florins. The captains of the Company resolved to expend a portion of this treasure in erecting a tabernacle or shrine for the picture to which it had been offered, and which should exceed all others in magnificence. They entrusted the execution to Orcagna, who completed it in 1359, after ten years' labour, having sculptured all the bas-reliefs and figures himself, while the mere architectural details and accessories were executed with equal care by subordinate artists, under his own eye and direction.[1]

And there it stands!—lost, indeed, in that chapel-like church, from which one longs to transport it to the choir of some vast cathedral—but fresh in virgin beauty after five centuries, the jewel of Italy, complete and perfect in every way—for it will reward the minutest examination. It stands isolated—the history of the Virgin is represented in nine bas-reliefs, two adorning each face of the basement, and the ninth, much larger, covering the back of the tabernacle, immediately behind the Madonna; one of the three Theological Virtues is interposed between each couple of bas-reliefs, on the Western, Northern, and Southern faces respectively, the corresponding space at the East end, immediately below the large bas-relief, being occupied by a small door; while, laterally, in the angles of each several pier that supports the roof, five small figures are sculptured, a Cardinal Virtue in each instance occupying the centre, attended, to the right and left, by a virtue of sister significance, and by two apostles, holding scrolls of prophecy or gospel—each series of five having reference apparently to the peculiar merits exemplified by the Virgin at the successive periods of her history, as commemorated in the bas-reliefs,—the series of these bas-reliefs beginning with her birth, on the North side of the basement, and running round from left to right. I may mention her Marriage and the Adoration of the Kings as peculiarly beautiful, and among the single figures those of Obedience, Justice, and Virginity.[2]

The character of these sculptures is that of dignity

[1] See Vasari and Baldinucci, in their respective lives of Orcagna.

[2] The following list of the subjects may be found useful in examination:—

North Face of the Basement.

1. The Birth of the Virgin, —S. Anna stretches her hand from the bed, and feebly caresses the new-born babe,

tempered by sweetness to a singular degree, and mingled with a peculiar contemplative, abstractive expression, especially in the female figures, as decidedly akin to that of the Sienese and Semi-Byzantine schools of painting as the works of Andrea Pisano are to the Giottesque. If Ugolino's Madonna was to be enshrined in marble, Orcagna was assuredly the sole artist fitted for the task — and were it not that he stood without a rival in the art when selected for the purpose, I should have imputed that selection to the same occult sympathy which will almost invariably be found the rule of patronage in Italian art. To the above characteristics truth of feeling, ease of attitude, and breadth and dignity of drapery may be added, though in design Orcagna is certainly inferior to Andrea. The influence of the antique is, however, more visible here than in his paintings.

which the nurse has just swathed up :—

2. Faith, crowned, and holding the cup :—

3. The dedication of the Virgin, — her young, expectant companions looking at her with curiosity, as she ascends the steps of the temple :—

Angles of the N. W. pier.

4. An Apostle :—

5. Obedience, — her hand raised, half opened, her head bowed in compliance :—

6. Justice, —a beautiful figure, the countenance very noble, crowned, with her veil tightly bound round her brows and under her chin, forming a most graceful head-dress, —holding the sword in her right hand and the balance in her left :—

7. Devotion, pressing her hand on her bosom :—

8. An Apostle or Prophet, —pointing towards the following compartment, with an appropriate motto from S. Luke :—

West Face of the Basement.

9. The Marriage of the Virgin, — the High Priest joining their hands, S. Joseph holding his rod, with the dove resting on the flower, — behind him a suitor breaking his own, —much grace in the Virgin's figure and dignity in S. Joseph and the Priest :—

10. Hope, — seated, her hands uplifted in expectation :—

11. The Annunciation, —the Angel good, the Virgin not quite successful :—

Angles of the S. W. pier.

12. An Apostle :—

13. Patience :—

14. Fortitude, — holding the column and a shield marked with the cross.

15. Perseverance, —with a wreath of olive, the left arm concealed in her mantle :—

16. An Apostle :—

South Face of the Basement.

17. Birth of our Saviour, — the old traditional composition :—

18. Charity, —with her crown and vase of flames, and a child on her knee, to which she gives the breast :—

19. The Adoration of the Kings, — graceful and beautiful, the composition quite simple, admirably executed, and with much feeling :—

Angles of the S. E. pier.

20. An Apostle :—

21. Humility, —looking down :—

22. Temperance, —with her compasses :—

23. Virginity, — a sweet, graceful figure, pressing her hand on her bosom :—

24. An Apostle :—

Nor is his mastery over the whole mechanism of the art, as exhibited in this extraordinary shrine, less praiseworthy; the general adjustment and the *commettitura*, or piecing of the different parts, is wonderful; he used no cement, but bound and knit the whole together with clamps of metal, and it has stood firm and solid as a rock ever since. In point of architecture too, the design is exquisite, unrivalled in grace and proportion,—it is a miracle of loveliness, and though clustered all over with pillars and pinnacles, inlaid with the richest marbles, lapis-lazuli, and mosaic-work, it is chaste in its luxuriance as an Arctic iceberg—worthy of her who was spotless among women. We cannot wonder, considering the labour and the value of the materials employed on this tabernacle,[1] that it should have cost eighty-six thousand of the gold florins treasured up in the Orsanmichele—or hesitate in agreeing with Vasari, that the eighty-six thousand florins could not have been better spent.

I am not aware of any other works of Orcagna in marble.

East Face of the Basement.

25. The Purification,—simple and noble; engraved in Cicognara, tom. i. tav. 22, and described at p. 462 :—

26. Above the small door a beautiful figure of an Apostle, pointing upwards to the large bas-relief :—

27. Gabriel presenting the palm-branch to the Virgin, in token of her approaching decease,—the Virgin is of middle rather than extreme old age; some of the legendaries assert that she died within a year after Our Saviour :—

Angles of the S. W. pier.

28. An Apostle :—

29. Docility,—an elderly woman, holding an emblem, now broken, in her two hands :—

30. Prudence,—double-faced and crowned, holding a snake in her left hand, the fingers of her right muffled up in her robe :—

31. Caution,—with her finger on her mouth :—

32. An Apostle :—

Centre of the Back of the Tabernacle.

33, 34. The Death and Assumption of the Virgin, in two compartments; in the lower, the body lies on the bed, and Our Saviour appears on the further side with the soul in his arms; the Apostles are gathered round it, dignified and expressive figures, though the grief is a little caricatured,—in the upper, she is carried up to heaven by angels, seated in her throne and within the vesica piscis. Below is inscribed the name of the artist, "Andreas Cionis Pictor Florentinus," with the date 1359.

Besides these, many other little statues are niched and pinnacled throughout the pile. And, finally, crowning the whole, the statue of S. Michael the Archangel, with his drawn sword in his right hand and the globe in his left, attended to the right and left (if I mistake not) by Gabriel and Raphael, armed, with shields, and looking south and north. The outer rails too are of marble, with twisted columns, and surmounted by angels carrying tapers,—the columns resembling those in the tomb of Niccola Acciajuoli, presently to be mentioned, at the Certosa.

[1] Engravings of this tabernacle were published a few years ago by the celebrated Lasinio.

The tomb of Niccola Acciajuoli, Grand Seneschal of Naples, and a most interesting character, in the Certosa near Florence, is ascribed to him, but is probably by some of his pupils, as well as the three other monumental effigies of the family there preserved.[1] None however of these pupils distinguished themselves,[2] and after Andrea's death, which was before 1375, Sculpture languished at Florence, at least in the hands of Florentines, till the close of the century.[3]

Section 3.—Siena.

The Sienese branch of the Pisan school was founded by the brothers Agostino and Agnolo, to whose excellence as architects I have elsewhere paid my tribute of admiration. They were placed under Giovanni Pisano in 1284, during a short sojourn of that sculptor at Siena on his return from Naples, and worked under him on the shrine of S. Donato at Arezzo, and afterwards at Orvieto, and on the pulpits of Pistoja and Pisa as his pupils and assistants, Agostino, especially, distinguishing himself by such superiority to his fellow-students as to acquire the name of the 'right eye' of his master. After

[1] The general design of Niccola's tomb is very peculiar, Gothic certainly, but (like the Loggia de' Lanzi) almost transitional to the Cinquecento. It is engraved in the 'Monumenti Sepolcrali della Toscana,' tav. 35. Niccola, the Grand Seneschal and the founder of the Convent, was a noble character; some of his letters are printed in the first volume of Dr. Gaye's 'Carteggio inedito degli Artisti.'[1] The family, originally from Brescia, and named after the trade they rose by, attained sovereignty n the person of Ranier, nephew of the Seneschal, styled Duke of Athens and Lord of Thebes, Argos and Sparta. He was succeeded by his bastard son Antony, and the latter by two nephews, whom he invited from Florence, Ranier and Antony Acciajuoli; the son of the latter, Francesco, finally yielded Athens to Mahomet II, in 1456, and was soon afterwards strangled by his orders at Thebes.

[2] The sculptures on the Loggia de' Lanzi, representing Faith, Hope and Charity, were executed, not by Orcagna but by Jacopo di Piero, probably his pupil, as appears from documents cited by Baldinucci, *Notizie*, etc., tom. ii. p. 142, ed. Manni.

[3] Fiesole became at an early period the head-quarters of a school of *scarpellini*, or stone-cutters, who scarcely aspired to the dignity of Sculpture, although they frequently showed great taste; their mechanical skill in working marble was highly celebrated; they were constantly employed by the great Tuscan sculptors in executing the inferior portions of their works. Andrea da Fiesole, who sculptured, in 1412, the tomb of Bartolommeo Saliceti, in S. Domenico at Bologna,

[1] A most valuable collection of original documents—letters of artists, extracts from public records, etc., published by Molini at Florence, in 3 vols. 8vo., 1839. Dr. Gaye, a Dane by birth, and a most ardent and indefatigable student of early Italian art, died prematurely at Florence in 1840. See a very interesting review of the 'Carteggio' in the Foreign Quarterly, No. 68, Jan. 1845.

parting from Giovanni, they settled at Siena as public architects, in which capacity they were fully occupied for many years. They reappear as sculptors in 1327. Giotto, passing through Orvieto that year on his way to Naples, was pleased with their performances, and recommended them to the brother of the recently deceased chief of the Tuscan Ghibellines, Guido Tarlati, Signor and Bishop of Arezzo, to sculpture his tomb. They executed this important work in three years, completing it in 1330. You will see it in the Cathedral there. It exceeds in magnificence every previous monument of the age, and yet disappoints one,—it wants relief: the proportions of the Pisan type, so harmonious and so graceful, are quite lost sight of; the sarcophagus and recumbent effigy, and the attendant angels drawing back the curtain, are diminished into insignificance in order to give prominence to a series of bas-reliefs delineating the principal events of the bishop's life;

was the most celebrated of the race, prior to Andrea Ferrucci and others, whose works belong to the Cinquecento.

'Cesellatura,' or goldsmiths' work, is one of those numerous departments of art which I have refrained from noticing except when they supply illustrations in which the more noble branches are deficient. It deserves indeed a history to itself, and its importance may be estimated by the fact, that numberless artists of the highest celebrity—from Orcagna to Cellini—spent their early years in apprenticeship to the goldsmiths, chasing chalices and tabernacles for altars and churches. It was, moreover, in experimenting in his craft, that the goldsmith Maso Finiguerra discovered the art of engraving. The silver 'Cassa,' or shrine, of S. James, in the cathedral at Pistoja, executed chiefly by Florentine goldsmiths during the fourteenth century, and that of S. Giovanni, belonging to the Baptistery of Florence, but preserved and shown at the 'Opera of the Duomo,'[1] are the most interesting works of this class, belonging to the period we are at present reviewing. The latter was begun in 1366, but not finished till 1477, when payments were made to Bernardo di Bartolommeo Cenni, to Andrea del Verrocchio, and to Antonio di Jacopo del Pollajuolo, for its completion; the records of the Duomo probably contain much more information respecting the artists previously employed,—the names, as given by Gori in his account of the Baptistery, printed in 1756, and now affixed on slips of pasteboard to the respective bas-reliefs, are quite untrustworthy. The bas-reliefs seem to have been very carelessly put together, as respects chronological succession. The Reproval of Herod by S. John is one of the most striking compartments; his figure is full of dignity and beauty. The silver statue of S. John in the centre, dated 1452, is by Antonio del Pollajuolo, according to Vasari; the figure is very skinny, but fine.

[1] The building, temporary at first, but which frequently became permanent, attached to every cathedral during the process of erection, for the accommodation of the Operajo, or chief architect, etc., and which seems to have been an expansion of the original simple wooden loggia, or lodge, of the freemasons. Being generally of considerable size, and of little use subsequent to the completion of the several cathedrals, they were often employed for occasional purposes, and it would be interesting to know whether the musical drama, commonly called the Opera, acquired its name from having been originally performed in them.

perhaps you may find compensation in them for the defects I complain of, and which are certainly architectural rather than sculptural; the composition is often very good, though the execution is rude. Vasari ascribes the design of this monument to Giotto, but it is surely very unworthy of him.[1]

Agostino and Agnolo died about 1344, leaving many pupils, native and foreign. Of the latter, Lanfrani of Vicenza and the brothers Jacobello and Pietro Paolo of Venice were the most distinguished. Of Lanfrani the elegant tomb of Taddeo Pepoli, governor of Bologna, in the church of S. Domenico, in that city,[2] is the most remarkable production; while the 'Arca,' or shrine, of S. Augustine at Pavia,[3] is attributed by the best critics to the brothers of Venice, and without a shadow of doubt belongs to the Sienese branch of the Pisan school. It is rather heavy perhaps, but not the less a most elaborate and beautiful piece of architectural sculpture. The sarcophagus, on which the effigy is laid down by angels, the canopy that overshadows it, the pillars that support the canopy, each and all are covered with bas-reliefs, delineating the life and miracles of the Saint, and interspersed with small

[1] This monument is engraved in the 'Monumenti Sepolcrali della Toscana,' tav. 40. The subjects of the bas-reliefs are as follow:—1. Guido's installation as Bishop; 2. His election as Lord of Arezzo, in 1321; 3. An allegory of the oppressions then prevalent at Arezzo, and which his election was intended to relieve; 4. The justice executed by him on the part of Arezzo against her oppressors; 5. The rebuilding of the walls of the town; 6. The reduction and capture of Lucignano; 7. The capture of Chiusi; 8. Of Fronzola; 9. Of Castel Focognano; 10. Of Rondine; 11. Of Bucine; 12. Of Castello di Caprese; 13. Of Laterina; 14. Of Monte Sansovino; 15. The Coronation of the Emperor Louis of Bavaria, Guido being one of the three excommunicated bishops who performed it,—and, 16. The death of Guido in 1329. Tarlati and his ancestors, an obscure but powerful race, of Teutonic origin and inflexibly Ghibelline principles, had been lords of Pietramala, the dreariest spot in the Apennine, since the tenth century; his brother Saccone succeeded him,—in spirit a Lombard of the days of Alboin, scorning the soft civilisation of Italy, and aspiring to be king over mountain and forest, but as wily as he was bold, daring and determined; he ruled over the whole of the central Apennine for many years till death surprised him in 1356, in his ninety-seventh year. Perceiving the consternation of his attendants—everything hanging on his personal character and energy—he despatched his son, Marco, to capture a neighbouring castle, thinking that the news that he was dying would have lulled the vigilance of his enemies, and that a blow struck at such a moment would confirm his son's authority; the enterprise failed and he expired, lamenting that fortune, hitherto so favourable, had turned her back upon him,—her flight was absolute; his family were immediately stript of their territories and sank back into obscurity, and this monument is the sole surviving memorial of the brief hour of their greatness.

[2] It is in the chapel 'del Rosario.'

[3] In the South transept of the Duomo.

statues of Apostles and Virtues ingeniously allegorised. These single figures struck me as superior to the bas-reliefs, although even in them there are many pleasing figures; the soft contemplative Sienese expression prevails throughout, and some of the figures have even grace and dignity.

This Arca was begun in 1362, and must have taken several years to execute. Its style of sculpture is certainly much superior to the undoubted works of Jacobello and Pietro Paolo at Venice, of which the most remarkable are the statues of Our Saviour, the Virgin, and the Apostles, on the screen of the choir of S. Mark's, dated 1394. The sculpturesque posterity of these brothers flourished in the North of Italy, and especially at Venice, for nearly a century; the churches there are full of their productions, and if it interest you to make acquaintance with the last decrepid degenerate descendant of this transplanted race, you may do so in the person of Vellano, author of the bronze bas-reliefs in the choir of S. Antonio at Padua, dated as late as 1488, but in merit below the worst productions of the preceding century.

Returning to Siena, the sculptor Goro, author of the 'Urn of S. Cerbone,' in the Cathedral of Massa, dated as early as 1323,[1] and of other works much later in the century, is the only name worth remembrance; and I may pass from him without injustice to Niccolò Aretino and Giacomo della Quercia, sculptors of far higher deserts and reputation, who held during the last quarter of the fifteenth century that undisputed pre-eminence in their art to which no claimant had appeared in Tuscany since the death of Orcagna.

Niccolò, after executing, in 1383, the Madonna della Misericordia, on the façade of that institution at Arezzo,—a composition in which the Virgin appears, sheltering the natives, rich and poor, under her robe, and which he has invested with much dignity of mien and expression[2]—settled at Florence, where indeed he had originally studied, though under a Sienese sculptor, of no great reputation, by name Moccio. He worked for many years there; an Evangelist seated, an excellent statue, now in the Duomo,[3] and two little figures of marble above Ghiberti's statue of S. Matthew at the Orsanmichele, are his principal works. They bear much resemblance

[1] I have not seen this urn; it is described by Dellavalle, *Lettere Sanesi*, tom. ii. p. 128.

[2] Engraved by Cicognara, tom. i. tav. 18.

[3] See Cicognara, tom. i. tav. 32.

to the style of Andrea Pisano, and during these latter years he may almost be termed an adopted Florentine.[1]

Giacomo, on the contrary, with all the merits of the Florentine branch, retains the unmistakable characteristics of his native Siena—grace and simplicity, and that peculiar sweetness of expression which I have noticed as distinguishing the school. The work which established his reputation was an equestrian statue, larger than life, of the Sienese general, Giovanni d'Azzo Ubaldini, carried in procession at his funeral on a lofty pyramidal scaffold, and the first of the kind ever made,—it has long since perished; the horse was most ingeniously fabricated with pieces of wood, jointed together and coated with plaster. He executed it at the age of nineteen, in the year 1390.[2] He was next employed on the Fonte Gaja, on which he worked, at intervals, for many years, and from which he derived the surname by which he was usually known, of 'Giacomo della Fonte.' He also sculptured some prophets on the façade of the Duomo. At Lucca, in S. Frediano, he sculptured the tomb of Ilaria, wife of Paolo Guinigi, a work of much elegance and simplicity, representing on the basement genii, or children, supporting wreaths of fruit, so strongly resembling those of Donatello, that it is difficult not to suspect a relationship of art between them. He is also supposed to be the author of the Assumption of the Virgin, over the Northern door of the Duomo at Florence, commonly called the 'Mandorla,' from the almond, or vesica piscis, which surrounds her. In 1430 and the four following years he executed the bas-reliefs around the door of S. Petronio at Bologna, and, during occasional visits to his native city, two at least of the three bronze bas-reliefs which ornament the font in the Baptistery. In 1435 he returned to Siena, on being appointed Operajo, or Director of the works at the Duomo, an office of high dignity and emolument, in which he spent the last three years of his life, dying in 1438, worn out with labour, at the age of sixty-seven, lamented by the whole city, for his noble personal qualities no less than his professional ability.[3]

Giacomo della Quercia was the last, strictly speaking, of

[1] Niccolò died in 1417, aged 67.

[2] It was probably constructed on the same principle as the celebrated horse of Donatello, now in the immense hall of the Palazzo della Ragione, at Padua.

[3] See the *Lettere Sanesi*, tom. ii. pp. 146 sqq., and Gaye's *Carteggio Inedito*, etc., tom. i. pp. 135, 365.

the Sienese branch of the Pisan school. The stars of Ghiberti and Donatello were in the ascendant during the last thirty years of his life, but he cannot be reckoned as their pupil, for, although he undoubtedly benefited by their influence, they too had profited by his, in earlier years, and we cannot doubt that he had contributed to prepare the way for their appearance. I ought to have mentioned before this, that both Niccolò Aretino and himself had unsuccessfully competed with Ghiberti at the memorable *concorso* for the gate of S. Giovanni, in 1403.[1]

Section 4.—Naples.

I have only now to sketch, and with a rapid pencil, the fortunes of the Neapolitan branch of the Pisan school.

Masuccio the elder, or the First, as he is styled *more regio* by the Neapolitans, is universally reckoned its founder. He was educated by an aged artist of the Semi-Byzantine succession, who practised the three arts conjointly, and is said to have been the sculptor of the miraculous crucifix preserved in S. Domenico Maggiore, which spoke to S. Thomas Aquinas.[2] Losing his guidance at the period when he most required it, Masuccio applied to a German architect, then resident at Naples, who proved a most kind friend, communicating to him all his own knowledge, and afterwards taking him with him to Rome, where he devoted himself to the study of the monuments of architecture and sculpture there preserved.

Pietro de' Stefani, brother of Tomaso, the reviver of paint-

[1] Among Giacomo's disciples were Niccolò, surnamed 'dell' Arca,' from having added the *operculum*, or cover, to the Arca di S. Domenico, at Bologna, and Matteo Civitali, whose works are to be seen at Lucca, both of them decidedly artists of the Cinquecento. Vecchietta, author of the bronze tabernacle of the high altar in the Duomo at Siena, was also his pupil, retaining more of the elder manner than the preceding artists,—while in Neroccio, whose graceful statue of S. Ansano (a Fra Angelico in stone) may be seen in the chapel of S. John the Baptist in the same cathedral, the spirit of the earlier days of art still most pleasingly predominates. The designs of Antonio di Federigo, too, for the pavement of the Duomo, would appear to associate him with Nerrocio and Giacomo, in contradistinction to the prevailing tendency of art at Siena towards the middle of the fifteenth century. Antonio was a sculptor, and I believe some of his statues still exist at Siena.[1]

[2] The words are thus reported, "Bene scripsisti de me, Thoma! quam mercedem accipies?" To which S. Thomas answered, "Non aliam nisi te, Domine!"

[1] Were it not that Ferri's Guide to Siena names Neroccio—a sculptor of whom I know nothing—as author of the S. Ansano, I should have attributed it to Antonio.

ing at Naples, had in the meanwhile been pursuing a course of diligent self-instruction in sculpture, forming his taste on two statues of Castor and Pollux, and some other fragments of the antique then preserved there.

Neither Pietro nor Masuccio, however, would appear to have particularly distinguished themselves previous to Giovanni Pisano's visit to Naples in 1283, invited thither by Charles I. of Anjou, to build the Castel Nuovo and the Franciscan church of S. Maria Nuova. Masuccio, hearing of this, returned to Naples in hopes of obtaining notice and employment from the King. Giovanni being anxious to return to Tuscany, and having already considerably advanced the castle and the church, Masuccio offered his assistance to superintend their completion, which Giovanni, after making trial of his abilities, accepted, and so went home. Thus introduced to the King, Masuccio rapidly rose to eminence. A cathedral was the next edifice contemplated by Charles; he drew the plan of one, which pleased the King so much that he commissioned him to erect it, and when ready for internal decoration, employed at his recommendation the brothers de' Stefani to sculpture and paint it, Masuccio confining himself thenceforward to the profession of architecture. The tribune, or Gothic altar, of the Minutoli chapel, with the crucifix and the attendant figures of the Virgin and S. John, sculptured by Pietro on this occasion, sufficiently show that he had become a faithful adherent to the Pisan school.

A tender friendship subsisted between these three artists, which was cemented by the virtual adoption of the son of Pietro by Masuccio, who held him at the font, gave him his own name, and devoted his latter days to his instruction in the sister arts. Masuccio died in 1306, aged seventy-seven, universally lamented, and his friend Pietro and his younger namesake and protégé sculptured his tomb. Pietro and Tomaso, then very aged, continued working for five years afterwards, ever sorrowing for his loss, and then they too sank into the grave, aged about eighty, nearly at the same moment. These details, and others I am about to give you, are from the Lives of Bernardo de' Dominici, the Vasari of Naples, and I must warn you not to give them too implicit credence: at the same time his account of these early artists is so pleasing, that, with due caution, we cannot refuse to listen to it, and may be permitted to hope that more may be

true than rigid criticism would allow. So far, at least, as the works of these artists may be received as vouchers to their personal character, that testimony is amply in favour of his veracity, and probably the narrative, though suspiciously circumstantial and certainly often incorrect, contains not a little traditional truth.[1]

To Pietro de' Stefani, or possibly to the elder Masuccio, I am inclined to attribute the very curious sculptures of the pulpit at S. Chiara, and the bas-reliefs now attached to the gallery overhanging the Western entrance, and representing the history of S. Catherine of Alexandria,—both series apparently earlier in date than the church. The latter especially are well worth examination. Extremely rude in point of execution, they tell their story with simplicity and feeling, and if a proof were wanting what a mine artists unheedingly possess in such neglected relics of early art, it would be supplied here by the example of the illustrious Florentine, Masaccio, who seems to have borrowed from them the composition of more than one of his beautiful frescoes in S. Clemente at Rome.[2] There are fountains of all sorts, and some of the sweetest draughts I ever

[1] The work is entitled, 'Vite de' Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti Napoletani,' *Naples*, 3 vols. 4to. 1742. It is extremely scarce, and but for the kindness of friends both in Italy and England, I should have been unable to refer to it. The first volume of a reprint appeared in 1840; I know not whether any more have been issued. The work is a storehouse of information respecting the Neapolitan artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and many citations are also given *verbatim* from the MS. collections of the painters Giovanni Angelo Criscuolo, Massimo Stanzioni, and others, respecting the history of art at Naples. The reprint alluded to is quite void of notes, which are greatly needed in consequence of the many changes that have taken place since De Dominici flourished.

[2] The subjects of these bas-reliefs are as follows:—1. The Death and Testament of King Costus, father of S. Catherine; 2. The Hermit delivering to her the tablet or image of Christ and the Virgin; 3. Her marriage to Our Saviour; 4. Her expostulation with the Emperor; 5. Our Saviour's appearance to her in prison, promising her protection in the approaching dispute; 6. Concealed, but without doubt, her Dispute with the Doctors; 7. The Martyrdom of the Doctors; 8. The visit of Queen Faustina to S. Catherine in prison, and the flagellation of the latter,—she seems at least to be leaning forward to receive blows; 9. A repetition of her scourging; 10. Her exposure to the wheels, and rescue by the angel; 11. Her decapitation—her soul carried away by an angel. My reason for thinking that Masaccio has studied these bas-reliefs, is grounded on the resemblance that exists between No. 8 and the corresponding compartment in the series at S. Clemente,—with this peculiarity, that Masaccio seems to have mistaken her attitude and the employment of the executioner,—here her head is not off, at Rome he has represented it so, before her actual decease. This misconception explains what is very puzzling in the fresco. In numbers 10 and 11, especially the last, the composition is almost identical with Masaccio's.

quaffed have been from wells dug in the desert, filled with sand and withered leaves when I approached them, but in which, when cleared out, the water rose fresh and sparkling in the sun. Traces of Byzantine influence are also visible in these compositions, mingled, though faintly, with that of the Pisan school. If by Pietro, they were probably executed in his youth.

Masuccio, in the meanwhile, the Second of that name, had been cultivating a talent which was destined not only to place him at the head of the artists of his own country, but to give him an honourable name among those of Italy at large. He had long suppressed an anxious desire to study at Rome, in consideration of the age and affection of his father and uncle; their death left him at liberty to follow his inclinations; he proceeded thither, and spent three years in assiduous study, both of architecture and sculpture, probably (it may be conjectured), under the Cosmati, who had been instructed by Arnolfo, pupil of Niccola Pisano.

At this period, 1309, Robert, surnamed the Wise, the patron, in after life, of Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, succeeded to the crown of Naples. Proposing to erect a magnificent church in honour of the Corpus Christi, and informed of the talent of the young Masuccio, he sent him orders to return home immediately. But Masuccio, being then occupied with an important work on which he had been employed by a Cardinal, the nephew of the reigning Pope, would not abandon it in this hasty manner, and requested the King's permission to delay his return till he should have fulfilled his engagement, promising to do his utmost to please him afterwards. Robert, offended at his non-compliance, applied to a foreign architect, then resident at Naples; he undertook the work, produced a model, and, with the eloquence of his words, built up (says De' Dominici) before the eyes of the King and Queen the most stately church in the world; the commission was given him; the first stone was laid with great pomp, and the church was commenced forthwith.

But before it had risen many feet from the ground, reports spread through Naples, and reached Masuccio at Rome, that the foundations were insufficient, and that the architect was a mere adventurer, utterly ignorant of the profession. By this time the Cardinal's church was nearly completed, and Masuccio, representing the urgency of the occasion, readily obtained his

permission to return to Naples. He went immediately to examine the new edifice, and found his arrival so opportune, that much that had been misdone might still be rectified. He demanded an audience of the King, and told him frankly his opinion, explaining the reasons on which he grounded it; the King sent for the architect, heard in the presence of both parties what each had to say, and the result of the conference was the betrayal of the vaunting ignorance of the one artist and of the superior skill of the other, the dismissal of the foreigner and the instalment of Masuccio in his place.[1] The building in Masuccio's hands soon assumed another aspect, and after completion received the honour of decoration in fresco from the hand of Giotto. Masuccio afterwards built a convent contiguous to it, at the command of Queen Sancia, for nuns of the Franciscan order of S. Chiara, by whose name the church is now known.

But it is as a sculptor that Masuccio descends with most honour to posterity,—though S. Chiara be a stately pile, the tombs that he has left in it are its chief attraction, those, namely, of King Robert and of his only son, Charles the Illustrious, Duke of Calabria, who died in his father's lifetime, in 1328, in the flower of his age. The young Prince, robed in his royal mantle, *semée* with fleur-de-lys, and crowned, lies recumbent on his sarcophagus, which is unveiled by two angels; a basrelief on the front represents him sitting in state, receiving the homage of the barons and the ministers of the kingdom, while his feet rest on a wolf and a lamb drinking at the same fountain, emblematical of the peace and security resulting from his justice. The sarcophagus rests on columns, supported by lions and faced by Caryatides. The whole is recessed, in the usual Pisan manner, within a lofty Gothic arch. This tomb stands to the right of the high altar, as you face it. That of King Robert was planned by Masuccio in the lifetime of the monarch, who proposed the tribune erected by Pietro in the Minutoli chapel as his model, wishing it to serve alike as a monument for himself and an ornament to the high altar. On presenting his design, the King was much pleased, but thought it too magnificent for a man (as he accounted himself) of little merit in the sight of God; it was laid aside therefore, nor was it till many years after the King's

[1] This story has a suspicious resemblance to a well-known incident in the life of Michael Angelo.

death that Masuccio executed it, at the command of his granddaughter, the unhappy Joanna. It rises, in Gothic glory, to the height of perhaps thirty or forty feet, but is unfortunately so concealed by the gaudy modern altar that it is seen with difficulty. The King, like his son on the adjacent monument, is represented both in life and death,—sitting on his throne in his royal robes, and stretched on his sarcophagus in the habit of the Franciscans, which he assumed eighteen days before his death—angels unveiling it, and revealing him to the gaze of the people. It would require pages to enumerate and particularise the Apostles, Saints, and various emblematical personages that adorn this noble sepulchre; the attitudes are generally simple and natural, the expression is dignified and noble, and although I would not parallel it in excellence of execution with the works of the contemporary Tuscans, it is in no wise inferior to them in spirit, and nowhere can the Pisan type of sepulchral architectural sculpture be seen in such magnificence.[1]

The other tombs attributed to Masuccio in S. Chiara, are of inferior merit; one of them, at least, that of the Queen Joanna, is not by his own hand, but was sculptured by his pupils after his designs. Masuccio was strongly attached to that ill-fated princess, and a devout believer in her innocence, and after her murder at Muro in the Basilicate, in a church dedicated to S. Francis, which he (Masuccio) had built for her, and on which he was still employed when the catastrophe occurred, he sculptured her tomb secretly, under pretence of working ornaments for the church, and afterwards, with the assistance of some of her partisans, removed her body thither from Naples, effecting the translation so quietly that it has become a disputed point where her remains actually repose.

I need not enumerate the remaining works of Masuccio, executed in architecture and sculpture during a long and busy lifetime. He died, according to De' Dominici, towards the close of the century, in his ninety-third year, of a violent fever, which his frame, weakened by so many years' incessant labour, was unable to resist,—full of honour, wealthy, and lamented by every one, having never missed an opportunity of doing a kindness, and having displayed, through a long life, all the virtues that adorn, without apparently one of the vices that so often sully, the career of genius.

[1] The tomb of the Duke of Calabria is engraved in Cicognara, tom. i. tav. 40.

He left several pupils, of whom the most distinguished were Bamboccio (who sculptured the door of S. Giovanni Vangelista, and inserted under the tribune of Pietro de' Stefani, in the Minutoli chapel, the tomb of the Archbishop Filippo, of that family[1]), and Andrea Ciccione, his worthy successor on the throne of Neapolitan architecture and sculpture, and not less distinguished for his virtues and piety. His most important works are the Gothic tombs of Ladislaus of Hungary, King of Naples, and of the celebrated Ser Gianni Caracciolo, both at S. Giovanni a Carbonara. The former was erected on the death of Ladislaus in 1414, by command of his sister and successor, Joanna II, who is represented seated beside him under the lofty arch that supports the sarcophagus, on which he reappears, but stretched out in death. Four large Caryatides, Temperance, Fortitude, Prudence and Magnanimity, support this immense structure, which is crowned by the equestrian statue of the monarch, armed cap-a-piè, and holding his drawn sword. It is a grand conception, but the execution is of unequal merit, and the same may be said of the tomb of Caracciolo, the favourite of Queen Joanna, which adorns the extremity of the tribune or choir, behind the high altar.[2]

[1] The scene of a ludicrous story told by Boccaccio. The night after the Archbishop was buried, one Andreuccio, a countryman of Perugia, who had come to Naples to buy horses, and had been tricked out of his purse by a Sicilian courtezan who pretended to be his sister, fell, after two or three intervening misadventures, into the company of a couple of miscreants, who, needing a confederate, persuaded him to join in an attempt to possess themselves of a ruby ring, valued at fifty gold florins, which had been buried with him. They came to the chapel at midnight; the two robbers lifted and propped up the lid of the sarcophagus, and then frightened Andreuccio into entering it and stripping the body. Andreuccio, however, secreted the ring, and pretended that he could not find it. Persisting in his story, and feigning to continue a fruitless search, they lost patience, dropped the lid upon him, and went their way, leaving him stretched, half dead with fright, on the Archbishop's body. Presently, however, another party of plunderers arrived with the same object, guided by a priest, who after lifting and propping up the lid as before, stepped boldly into the sarcophagus. Andreuccio (personating the dead Archbishop) caught him by the leg, pulling him downwards; the priest yelled out in an agony of horror, and freeing himself with a violent effort, rushed out of the church, with his accomplices at his heels, as if a legion of devils were in pursuit,—while Andreuccio quietly walked out after them, with the ring in his pocket, and quitting Naples the following morning, made the best of his way back to Perugia.—*Decam. Giorn.* ii. nov. v.

[2] An adjacent chapel, added to the church in later times, is full of interesting, though comparatively modern monuments of that ancient and distinguished family, which claims descent from Tancred de Hauteville, and one of whose daughters gave birth to S. Thomas Aquinas.

Ciccione died in 1455, and in him this Neapolitan branch of the Pisan school may be considered extinct, his pupil Agnolo Aniello Fiore (son of the painter Colantonio), having transferred his allegiance to the Majani, sculptors of the new Tuscan school, long resident at Naples, and whose influence, through Agnolo, may be seen in the *chef d'œuvre* of the celebrated Giovanni di Nola, pupil of the latter, the tomb of Don Pedro de Toledo in S. Giovanni degli Spagnuoli.

Travellers are usually little aware of the sepulchral wealth of Naples; her churches are literally crammed with sculptures and monuments, works of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, which are always worthy of attention. And, probably from the successive and reiterated influence of the Normans, French and Spaniards, more of the old chivalric and Gothic feeling may be found among them than elsewhere in Italy, save in a few districts comparatively remote from republican influence, where a tincture of the ancient spirit has survived and mingled with the Cinquecento.[1]

I have thus traced the different lines of the Pisan school, as founded by Niccola and Giovanni, and subsequently developed in the distinct branches of Florence, Siena and Naples, to the period when the influence of Ghiberti and Donatello became predominant throughout Italy. But I wish you to observe, that I by no means identify these last most admirable artists with the tide of corruption which set in during their lifetime, or, to speak more plainly, with the new Cinquecento Architecture originated by their contemporary, Brunellesco. On the contrary, I look upon them as the legitimate heirs of Niccola Pisano; as those who carried Christian sculpture to its perfection in adhesion to his principles, and in intimate alliance

[1] I may cite the monumental effigy in S. Cyriaco, at Ancona, of the good knight Francesco Cognomento, who died there, an exile from his native Fermo, in 1530, — and that, more especially, of Guidarello Guidarelli, now preserved in the Academy at Ravenna, a work apparently of the latter half of the fifteenth century. He reposes on his bed of stone, in full armour, stretched on his back, his sword between his legs, its cross-hilt resting on his breast, and his arms crossed over it; the visor is up, the head falls to one side; the features are a little sunk, but full of fortitude, courage and dignity. And the workmanship is as beautiful as the spirit is elevated and pure. According to Ribuffi's Guide to Ravenna, it is the work of Giacomello Baldini, a native of the town, but neither Füssli nor Nagler, nor such of the historians of Ravenna as I have consulted, mention such an artist.

with that symbolical Gothic architecture, which, though in a less perfect form, he had naturalised in Italy. It is as the ruling spirits of a new era, as the parents of two distinct lines of succession, both in Sculpture and Painting, by whom the great battle of Christianity and resuscitated Paganism was waged in European Art during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, that I place them at the head of the Second great period or division in its history.

END OF VOL. I.

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